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Trenchbull, Henry

# HISTORY

OF THE

*Discovery of America,*

OF THE

*Landing of our Forefathers,*

AT PLYMOUTH,

AND OF THEIR MOST REMARKABLE

*Engagements with the Indians,*

IN NEW-ENGLAND,

From their first landing in 1620, until the final subjugation of the Natives in 1669.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED, THE DEFEAT OF

Generals *Braddock, Harmer & St. Clair,*

BY THE INDIANS AT THE WESTWARD, &c.

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By the Rev. JAMES STEWARD, D. D.

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"My Countrymen—These things ought not to be forgotten, for the benefit of our Children, and those that follow them, they should be recorded in History." Dr. Franklin.

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## P R E F A C E.

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**T**HE principal object of the Author of the proceeding work, is to commemorate (for the benefit of the present and succeeding generations) the noble deeds, and praise-worthy exploits, of their patriotic *Forefathers*—who, driven by persecution from their native land, crossed a wide and boisterous ocean, sought a new country, and prepared it for the happy abode of their offspring.

Let us for a moment, contemplate the situation of this country at that period—what was it then!—an almost impenetrable forest, abounding with Savages and beasts of prey!—the vast trees that grew up to the clouds, were so encumbered with plants that they could scarcely be got at—the wild beasts made those woods still more inaccessible—the human race, cloathed with the skins of those monsters, fled from each other, or pursued only with intent to destroy—the earth seemed useless to man, and its powers were not exerted so much for his support, as in the breeding of animals, more obedient to the laws of nature—the earth produced every thing at pleasure, without assistance, and without direction; it yielded all its bounties with uncontrolled profusion for the benefit of all—the rivers now glided freely through the forests, now spread themselves quietly in a wide morass; from hence issuing in various streams, they formed a multitude of islands, encompassed with their channels—the spring was restored from the spoils of autumn—the leaves dried and rotted at the foot of trees, supplied them with fresh sap to enable them to shoot out new blossoms—the hollow trunks of trees af-

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forded a retreat to prodigious flights of birds—the sea, dashing against the coasts, and indenting the gulphs, threw up shoals of amphibious monsters, enormous whales, turtles, &c. that sported uncontrolled on the desert shores—here nature exerted her plastic power, incessantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean and asserting the freedom of the earth and the sea !

Such was the situation of *New-England*, when first visited by our *Forefathers*—the many difficulties with which they had to contend, before a peaceable settlement could be effected, must be apparent to all—not only was the country overspread with thick woods, but the caprices of a *savage race* were to be soothed—their jealousies of new settlers to be removed, or their power to be opposed ; and when all these difficulties should be surmounted, the colonists must continue subject to the first condemnatory sentence denounced on the human race, “ *by the sweat of their brow to eat their bread.*”—But, our *Forefathers* landed, and very soon changed the face of *New-England*—they destroyed or dispersed a horde of fierce and blood thirsty *Savages*—they introduced symmetry by the assistance of all the instruments of art—the impenetrable woods were cleared, and made room for commodious habitations—the wild beasts were driven away and flocks of domestic animals supplied their place ; whilst thorns and briars made way for rich harvests—the water forsook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the sea, by deep canals—the coasts were covered with towns, and the bays with ships—and thus the new world like the old became subject to man.—MY COUNTRYMEN OUGHT THESE THINGS TO BE FORGOTTEN ! ARE THEY NOT WORTHY OF RECORD !

Ancient and modern History of *Foreign* countries, and

of the most remarkable events that have attended them, are daily issuing from American presses, and are not unfrequently recommended to the American public, as worthy their most attentive perusal—but, permit us to enquire, can such publications be half so interesting, so valuable to *Americans*. as a volume in which is correctly delineated the noble achievements of their *Fathers*!—a correct History of the *Discovery, Settlement and Progress* of their *own country*!—Shall all knowledge of those remarkable events which have attended them, so all-important to Americans, be lost in a thirst for *foreign* History of ancient *Rome, Carthage, &c.*?—Shall the succeeding generation be suffered to arise and search in vain for a volume of so inestimable worth! a volume containing those important facts relative to the *discovery and settlement of a country which gave them birth*?

American Geographers have given some imperfect sketches of the discovery and early settlement of the country, but the proceeding work will be found to embrace every important particular relative thereto.—The particulars of the many severe and bloody engagements with the savages, are penned from *facts and official documents*, and in such manner as is calculated to convey to the mind of the reader such ideas as will enable him to form a true and accurate conception of every important incident relative thereto.

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## CHAP. I.

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### *DISCOVERY OF AMERICA,*

BY

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

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MANKIND owe the discovery of the western world to the gold, the silver, the precious stones, the spices, silks, and costly manufactures of the East; and even these incentives were for a considerable time, insufficient to prompt to the undertaking, although the most skilful navigator of the age proffered to risk his life in the attempt.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, who was destined to the high honour of revealing a new hemisphere to Europeans, was by birth a Genoese, who had been early trained to a seafaring life, and, having acquired every branch of knowledge connected with that profession, was no less distinguished by his skill and abilities, than for his intrepid and persevering spirit.—This man, when about forty years of age, had formed the great idea of reaching the East-Indies by sailing westward; but, as his fortune was very small, and the attempt required very effectual patronage, desirous that his native country should profit by his success, he laid his plan before the senate of Genoa, but the scheme appearing chimerical, it was rejected.—He then repaired to the court of Portugal; and although the Portuguese were at that time distinguished for their commercial spirit, and JOHN II. who then reigned, was a discerning and enterprising prince, yet the prepossessions of the great men in his court, to whom

the matter was referred, caused COLUMBUS finally to fail in his attempt there also. He next applied to FERDINAND and ISABELLA, king and queen of Arragon and Castile, and at the same time sent his brother BARTHOLOMEW (who followed the same profession; and who was well qualified to fill the immediate place under such a leader) to England, to lay the proposal before HENRY VII. which likewise, very fortunately for the future well being of the country, met with no success.—Many were the years which CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS spent in ineffectual attendance at the Castilian court; the impoverished state into which the finances of the united kingdoms were reduced, the war with Granada, repressing every disposition to attempt to great designs; but the war being at length terminated, the powerful mind of ISABELLA broke through all obstacles; she declared herself the patroness of COLUMBUS, whilst her husband FERDINAND, declining to partake as an adventurer, in the voyage, only gave it the sanction of his name. Thus did the superior genius of a *woman* effect the discovery of one half the Globe!

The ships sent on this important search were only three in number, two of them very small: they had ninety men on board. Although the expence of the expedition had long remained the sole obstacle to its being undertaken, yet, when every thing was provided, the cost did not amount to more than 17 760 dollars, and there were twelve months provision put on board.

COLUMBUS set sail from port Palos, in the province of Andalusia, on the 3d of August, 1492: he proceeded to the Canary Islands. and from thence directed his course due W. in the latitude of about 28 N.—In this course he continued for two months, without falling in with any land, which caused such a spirit of discontent and mutiny to arise as the superior address and management of

the commander became unequal to suppress, although for these qualities he was eminently distinguished.—He was at length reduced to the necessity of entering into a solemn engagement to abandon the enterprize and return home, if land did not appear in three days.—Probably he would not have been able to retain his people so long from acts of violence and outrage, in pursuing so untried and dreary a course, had they not been sensible that their safety in returning home, depended very much on his skill as a navigator, in conducting the vessel.

At length the appearance of land changed their despondency to the most exulting rapture.—It was an island abounding with inhabitants, both sexes of which were quite naked ; their manners kind, gentle, and unsuspecting.—COLUMBUS named it San Salvador : it is one of the cluster which bears the general name of Bahamia ; it was only 3° 30 lat. to the S. of the island of Gomora, one of the Canaries, from whence he took his departure. This navigator was still so confirmed in the opinion which he had formed before he undertook the voyage, that he believed himself then to be on an island which was situated adjacent to the Indies.—Proceeding to the S. he saw three other islands, which he named St. Mary of the Conception, Ferdinand, and Isabella.—At length he arrived at a very large island, and as he had taken seven of the natives of San Salvador on board, he learned from them it was called Cuba, but he gave it the name of Juanna.—He next proceeded to an island which he called Espagnola, in honor of the kingdom by which he was employed, and it still bears the name of Hispaniola.—Here he built a fort and formed a small settlement ; he then returned home, having on board some of the natives, whom he had taken from the different islands ; steering a more southern course, he fell in with some of the Caribbee islands, and arrived at the Port of Palos on the 15th of

March, 1493, having been seven months and eleven days on this most important voyage.

On his arrival letters patent were issued by the king and queen confirming to COLUMBUS and to his heirs all the privileges contained in a capitulation which had been executed before his departure, and his family was ennobled.

Not only the Spaniards, but the other nations of Europe, seem to have adopted the opinion of COLUMBUS, in considering the countries which he had discovered, as a part of India.—Whence FERDINAND and ISABELLA gave them the name “Indies” in the ratification of their former agreement with COLUMBUS.—Even after the error was detected, the name was retained, and the appellation of “West-Indies” is now given by all Europe to this country, and that of Indians to the inhabitants.

Nothing could possibly tend more effectually to rouse every active principle in human nature, than the discoveries which COLUMBUS had made; no time was therefore lost, nor expence spared, in preparing a fleet of ships, with which this great man should revisit the countries he had made known.—Seventeen ships were got ready in six months, and fifteen hundred persons embarked on board them, among whom were many of noble families, and who had filled honorable stations.—These engaged in the enterprize from the expectation that the new discovered country was either the Cipango of Marco Paulo, or the Ophir from which SOLOMON obtained his gold and precious merchandize. FERDINAND, now desirous of securing what he had before been unwilling to venture for the obtaining, applied to the Pope to be invested with a right in these new discovered countries, as well as to all future discoveries in that direction; but as it was necessary that there should be some favor of religion in the business, he founded his plea on a desire of converting

the savage natives to the Romish faith, which plan had its desired effect.

ALEXANDER VI. who then filled the papal chair, it ought to be mentioned, was the most profligate and abandoned of men : being a native of Arragon, and desirous of conciliating the favor of FERDINAND, for the purpose of aggrandizing his family, he readily granted a request, which, at no expence or risk, tended to extend the consequence and authority of the papacy : he therefore bestowed on FERDINAND and ISABELLA, “ all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered,” but as it was necessary to prevent this grant from interfering with one not long before made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores should serve as a limit between them ; and in the plenitude of his power, conferred all to the east of this imaginary line upon the Portuguese, and all to the west of it upon the Spaniards.

COLUMBUS set sail on his voyage from the port of Cadiz, on the 25th of September, 1493 ; when he arrived at St. Espagniola, he had the affliction to find that all the Spaniards whom he had left there, amounting to thirty-six in number, had been put to death by the natives, in revenge for the insults and outrages which they had committed.—After having traced out the plan of a town in a large plain, near a spacious bay, and given it the name of ISABELLA, in honor of his patroness the queen of Castile, and appointed his brother DON DIEGO, to preside as Deputy Governor in his absence, COLUMBUS, on the 24th of April, 1794, sailed with one ship and two small barks, to make farther discoveries in those seas.—In this voyage he was employed five months, and fell in with many small islands on the coast of Cuba, but with none of any importance except the island of Jamaica.



Soon after his return to Hispaniola, he resolved to make war with the Indians, who according to the Spanish historians, amounted to 100,000 men; these having experienced every lawless act of violence from their invaders, were rendered extremely inveterate, and thirsted for revenge, a disposition which appears to have been foreign from their natures.—Having collected his full force, he attacked them by night, whilst they were assembled in a wide plain, and obtained a most decisive victory, without the loss of one man on his part.—Beside the effect of cannon and fire arms, the noise of which was appalling, and their effect against a numerous body of Indians, closely drawn together, in the highest degree destructive, COLUMBUS had brought over with him a small body of cavalry.—The Indians who had never before seen such a creature, imagined the Spanish horses to be rational beings, and that each with its rider formed but one animal; they were astonished at their speed, and considered their impetuosity and strength as irresistible.—In this onset they had beside another formidable enemy to terrify and destroy them: a great number of the largest and fiercest species of dogs which were then bred in Europe, had been brought hither, which, set on by their weapons, without attempting resistance, they fled with all the speed which terror could excite.—Numbers were slain, and more made prisoners, who were immediately consigned to slavery.

The character of COLUMBUS stands very high in the estimation of mankind; he is venerated not only as a man possessing superior fortitude, and such a steady perseverance, as no impediments, dangers or sufferings, could shake, but as equally distinguished for piety and virtue.—His second son FERDINAND, who wrote the life of his father, apologises for this severity towards the na-

tives, on account of the distressed state into which the colony was brought : the change of climate, and the indispensable labors which were required of men unaccustomed to any exertions, had swept away great numbers of the new settlers, and the survivors were declining daily, whilst such was the irreconcilable enmity of the natives, that the most kind and circumspect conduct on the part of the Spaniards, would not have been effectual to regain their good will.—This apology seems to have been generally admitted, for all modern writers have bestowed upon the discoverer of the new world the warmest commendations unmixed with censure.—It is an unpleasant task to derogate from exalted merit, and to impute a deliberate plan of cruelty and extirpation to a man revered for moral worth ; but although a pert affectation of novel opinions could only originate in weak minds, and can be countenanced only by such, yet a free and unreserved scrutiny of facts, can alone separate truth from error, and apportion the just and intrinsic degree of merit belonging to any character.—That COLUMBUS had formed the design of waging offensive war against the Indians, and reducing them to slavery, before he entered upon his second voyage, and, consequently before he was apprized of the destruction of the people which he had left upon the island of Hispaniola, may be inferred from his proceeding himself with such a number of fierce and powerful dogs.

Having found the natives peaceable and well disposed, he had no reason to apprehend that they would commence unprovoked hostilities ; the cavalry which he took over, whilst it tended to impress those people with the deepest awe and veneration, was fully sufficient for the security of the new colony, if the friendship of the natives had been sincerely meant to be cultivated by a kind and equitable deportment ; but to treat them as a free

people was inconsistent with the views which led to planting a colony, for as the grand incentive to undertake the distant voyages was the hope of acquiring gold, so, as COLUMBUS had seen some worn as ornaments by the natives, and had been informed that the mountainous parts of the country yielded that precious metal, he had excited expectations in his employers, and in the nation at large, which both his interest and ambition compelled him as far as possible to realize: the Spaniards could not obtain gold without the assistance of the natives, and those were so constitutionally indolent that no allurements of presents or gratifications could excite them to labor.—To rescue himself therefore from disgrace, and to secure further support, he seems deliberately to have devoted a harmless race of men to slaughter and slavery.—Such as survived the massacre of that dreadful day, and preserved their freedom, fled into the mountains and inaccessible parts of the island, which not yielding them sufficient means of subsistence, they were compelled to obtain a portion of food from their cruel pursuers, by procuring gold dust, in order to support life; a tribute being imposed upon them which was rigorously exacted.—These wretched remains of a free people, thus driven from fruitfulness and amenity; compelled to labour for the support of life: a prey to despondency, which the recollection of their former happiness sharpened, and which their hopeless situation rendered unsupportable, died in great numbers, the innocent, but unrevenged victims of European avarice.—Such are the facts which have ever been admitted, yet, strange contradiction!—COLUMBUS is celebrated for his humanity and goodness! but should he not rather be considered as a most consummate dissembler; professing moderation whilst he meditated subversion, and, like most of the heroes and conquerors whom history records, renouncing



every principle of justice and humanity when they stopped the career of his ambition!—FERDINAND COLUMBUS, his son, and biographer, has with great address covered the shame of his father, whilst the admiring world has been little disposed to censure a man, the splendor of whose actions so powerfully fascinates and dazzles.



## CHAP. II.

### *LANDING OF OUR FOREFATHERS, AT PLYMOUTH.*



THE English, conducted by JOHN CABOT, in the year 1497, found the way to North-America soon after COLUMBUS had successfully crossed the Atlantic; but as the torrents in that country brought down no gold, and the Indians were not bedecked with any costly ornaments, no attempts were made to explore the country for near a century after its discovery.—Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, who traversed the whole circumference of the globe in one voyage, and in one ship, which had never been achieved before, when afterward annoying the Spaniards in the West-Indies, and on the main, gained some knowledge of the eastern shore of the northern continent, as he had before of the western parts about the same parallel:—Sir WALTER RALEIGH, however, was the first navigator who explored the coast, bestowed on it a name, and attempted to settle a colony.

At that time colonization made no part of the system of government, so that there were few stimulents to abandon a native soil for the purpose of seeking possessions in another hemisphere.—At length a powerful incentive arose, stronger than the influence of kings, than the love

of ease, than the dread of misery.—*Religion*, which had long been converted into the most powerful engine which human subtlety ever made use of to subjugate the mass of mankind, no sooner ceased to be so perverted, than by its own proper force it compelled large bodies of people to renounce every present enjoyment, the instinctive love of a native soil, rooted habits, and dearest connexions, and to settle in the dreary wilds of a far distant continent.

When England, by a very singular concurrence of circumstances, threw off the papal yoke, state policy so predominated in the measure, that the consciences of men were still required to bend to the discipline, conform to the ceremonials, and ascent to the doctrines which the governing powers established.—Although a dissent from the church of Rome was considered as meritorious, yet a dissent from the church of England was held to be heretical, and an offence to be punished by the civil magistrate.—The human mind, somewhat awakened from a long suspension of its powers by a *Wickliffe*, farther enlightened by an *Erasmus* and *Melancthon*, and at length called forth into energy by the collision of those two ardent and daring spirits, LUTHER and CALVIN, then began to bend all its attention toward religious enquiries; and exercised all its powers in such pursuits.—Hence arose a vast diversity of opinions, which gave rise to numerous sects and denominations of Christians, but as the protestant establishment in England, held it essential to preserve a unity of faith, those novel opinions obtained no more quarter there than under papal power.

The persecuted and desperate religionsists easily obtained a royal grant of a very extensive tract of land (now called *New-England*) whither they intended to repair, not to amass wealth, or to exterminate the inhabitants, but to subsist by industry, to purchase security by honorable intercourse with the natives, and to acquire strength un-

der the auspices of freedom; this alone was their primitive object.

In the year 1620, a company belonging to the church of a Mr. ROBERTSON, sailed from Plymouth, and after a tedious passage of several months landed on the 11th November on the southerly part of Massachusetts-bay, where in consequence of the inclemency of the season, they continued through the winter, encamped in small huts.—On the approach of Spring, the flattering appearance of the country, and the courtesy of the natives, induced them to form the determination of making this the place of their future abode; they accordingly began here to lay the foundation of a new colony, and in remembrance of the town from which they last took their departure, in England, they called *New-Plymouth*.

New-England from this period began to be rapidly peopled by the Europeans; so great was the emigration from the mother country, that in less than six years from the time that the first adventurers landed at New-Plymouth, there were seven considerable towns built and settled in the colony of Massachusetts.

In the summer of 1627, Mr. ENDICOT, one of the original planters, was sent over to begin a plantation at Naumkeag, (now Salem)—the June following about 200 persons, furnished with four ministers, came over and joined Mr. ENDICOT's colony; and the next year they formed themselves into a regular church. This was the first church gathered in Massachusetts, and the second in New-England. The church at Plymouth had been gathered eight years before. In 1629, a large embarkation was projected by the company in England; at the request of a number of respectable gentlemen, most of whom afterwards came over to New-England, the general consent of the company was obtained, that the government should be transferred and settled in Massachusetts.

In 1630, seventeen ships from different ports in England arrived in Massachusetts, with more than 1500 passengers, among whom were many persons of distinction. Incredible were the hardships they endured—reduced to a scanty pittance of provisions, and that of a kind to which they had not been accustomed, and destitute of necessary accommodations, numbers sickened and died; so that, before the end of the year, they lost 200 of their number. About this time settlements were made at Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester, Cambridge, Roxbury, and Medford.

In the years 1632 and 1633, great additions were made to the colony. Such was the rage for emigration to New-England, that the king and council thought fit to issue an order, February 7, 1633, to prevent it. The order however, was not strictly obeyed.

In 1635, the foundation of a new colony was laid in Connecticut, adjoining the river which passes through the state; of this river and the country adjacent, Lord SAY, and Lord BROOK, were the proprietors, at the mouth of said river a fort by their direction was built, which in honor to them, was called Saybrook fort.—New-Haven was settled soon after the building of this fort, as was a number of other towns of considerable note in Connecticut.—Some difficulty arising among those who first settled at New-Plymouth, a part of the inhabitants, to prevent any serious consequences, removed to a pleasant and fertile island to the S. W. of Cape Cod, now called Rhode-Island, while others settled at Providence, Warwick, Taunton, &c.—thus it was, that in the course of a very few years, a great part of *New-England*, which so late was an uncultivated forest, resounding with the yells of savages, and beasts of prey, became the place of abode of our persecuted forefathers.

But this newly settled country was not to be acquired

without bloodshed ; the natives, although they at first appeared harmless and well disposed toward the new settlers, from the rapid increase and too frequent aggressions of the latter, the jealousy of the former was excited, which they soon began more openly to manifest, as will appear by what follows :—



## CHAP. II.

### COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES, WITH THE NATIVES.



THERE was a tribe of Indians which inhabited the borders of Connecticut river, from its mouth to within a few miles of Hartford, called *Pequods*, a fierce, cruel, and warlike tribe, and the inveterate enemies of the English, never failing to improve every opportunity to exercise toward them, the most wanton acts of barbarity.—In June 1634, they treacherously murdered a Capt. STONE, and a Capt. NORTON, who had been long in the habit of visiting them occasionally, to trade.—In August, 1636, they inhumanly murdered a Mr. WEEKS, and his whole family, consisting of a wife and six children, and soon after murdered the wife and children of a Mr. WILLIAMS, residing near Hartford.—Finding, however, that by their unprovoked acts of barbarity, they had enkindled the resentment of the English (who, aroused to a sense of their danger, were making preparation to exterminate this cruel tribe) the *Pequods* despatched messengers with gifts to the Governor of the new colonies (the Hon. JOSIAH WINSLOW)—he being however inflexible in his determination to revenge the deaths of his friends, dismissed those messengers without an an-



swer.—The Pequods finding the English resolute and determined, and fearing the consequence of their resentment, the second time despatched messengers with a large quantity of *wampum* (Indian money) as a present to the Governor and Council, with whom the latter had a considerable conference, and at length concluded a peace on the following terms:—

### A R T I C L E S.

I. The Pequods shall deliver up to the English those of their tribe that are guilty of the deaths of their countrymen.

II. The Pequods shall relinquish to the English all their right and title to the lands lying within the colony of Connecticut.

III. The English, if disposed to trade with the Pequods, shall be treated as friends:

To these articles the Pequods readily agreed, and promised faithfully to adhere, and at the same time expressed a desire to make peace with the Narraganset Indians, with whom they were then at war.

Soon after the conclusion of peace with the Pequods, the English, to put their fair promises to the test, sent a small boat into the river, on the borders of which they resided, with the pretence of trade; but so great was the treachery of the natives, that after succeeding by fair promises in enticing the crew of said boat on shore, they were by them inhumanly murdered.

The Pequods despairing of again deceiving the English in the manner they had late done, now threw off the mask of friendship, and avowing themselves the natural enemies of the English, commenced open hostilities against them, barbarously murdering all that were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands.—A few families were at this time settled at or near Wethersfield, (Conn.) the whole of whom were carried away captives

by them ; two girls, the daughters of a Mr. GIBBONS, of Hartford, were in the most cruel manner put to death, after cutting and gashing their flesh with their knives, the Indians filled their wounds with hot embers, in the mean time mimicking their dying groans !

The Pequods encouraged by the trifling resistance made by the English to their wanton acts of barbarity, on the 20th June, 1637, besieged fort Saybrook, in which there were about twenty men stationed ; the Indians were to the number of about one hundred and fifty, they surrounded and furiously attacked the fort at midnight, horribly yelling and mimicking the dying groans of such as had fallen victims to their savage barbarity ; but the English being fortunately provided with two or three pieces of cannon, caused their savage enemies to groan in reality, who, after receiving two or three vollies from the besieged, retreated, leaving behind them dead, or mortally wounded, about fifty of their number ; in this attack the English sustained no loss.

The Governor and Council of the new colony, alarmed at the bold and daring conduct of the Pequods, convened to adopt some plan that might serve at least to check their murderous career, until such time as they could be more deservedly dealt with—by them it was unanimously resolved that an adequate force should be immediately raised and sent against them ;—accordingly on the 20th August, between 80 and 90 men, under the command of Capt. ENDICOTT, of Salem, embarked and set sail for Connecticut river, at the mouth of which they arrived on the 30th following. Having formed themselves (soon after their disembarkation) into two companies, they proceeded for the head-quarters of the Pequods, who were encamped to the number of five or six hundred, on the summit of a steep hill about five miles distant. The Pequods were armed principally

with bows and arrows, and suffered the English to approach them until within bow shot, when they discharged a shower of arrows among them, and then precipitately fled into an adjoining wood; not however until they had received the contents of the muskets of the English, which stayed the course of a number of them, their loss amounting, as nearly as could be ascertained, to about thirty killed and wounded—the loss of the English was comparatively small, not exceeding ten in killed and wounded. Capt. ENDICOT conceiving it difficult to pursue the enemy with success into an almost impenetrable forest, and not being enabled to bring them to another action in open field, after destroying by fire their temporary encampments, returned home, previously lodging twenty of his men in fort Saybrook, for its defence—as this fort had been more than once attacked by the enemy, it was strongly suspected that they were artfully devising means to effect its destruction.

After the departure of Capt. ENDICOT, the Pequods perceiving that they had not only drawn upon themselves the hatred of the English, but that of all the neighboring tribes of Indians, attempted to make peace with the Narragansets (with whom they had been for a long time at war,) but the Governor and Council being apprized of this, sent for MIANTINOMI, the Narraganset Sachem, and twenty of his principal men, whom they termed *Sannops*; they arrived in Boston agreeable to the summons of the Governor, &c. on the 20th November following. With MIANTINOMI a firm peace was concluded, who, after being presented by the Governor with a new scarlet coat, as a token of friendship, was escorted out of town by a company of musketeers, and dismissed with a salute of honour.—The articles of Peace which were drawn up by the Governor and Council, and



assented to and signed by MIANTINOMI, and his chief men, were as follow :—

### A R T I C L E S.

I. A permanent Peace to be maintained between the English and the Narragansets, both parties pledge themselves to adhere to each others interests in all quarrels with their enemies.

II. Neither of the parties to make peace with the Pequods. without its being first mutually assented to.

III. The Narragansets solemnly pledge themselves not to harbour or have any dealing with the Pequods, but to deliver up to the English such of that tribe as resort to them for safety.

IV. The Narragansets are at all times to furnish the English with guides, whenever they are disposed to invade the Pequod country.

The Pequods still continuing to practice their wanton acts of cruelty toward the English, it was jointly agreed by the three colonies to raise as great a force as possible the ensuing spring, for the suppressing of the common enemy ; in conformity to which the Governor ordered the raising and equipping of 160 effective men, in each colony, which was the largest number that fire arms could at this time be procured for—the whole were to be under the command of Col. STOUGHTON, of Dorchester, and Captains PATRICK, and TRASK, of Salem, who were to be accompanied by the Rev. JOHN WILSON, of Boston.—The object of this expedition was to surprise and demolish an Indian fort, situated near the head of Mystic river.—In May, the whole number (480 effective men) having assembled at the place of public rendezvous, embarked and set sail for Narraganset, where they were joined by MIANTINOMI, with about 300 of his fighting men, with whom they proceeded for their place of destination:—When within about a mile of the

fort, an Indian was sent to reconnoitre the enemy, who, making a favorable report, they pushed forward and at about break of day, arrived within gun shot of the fort, before they were discovered by the enemy—at this important moment a bloody engagement commenced, the Pequods were about 1500 strong, and being completely surrounded by the English, and friendly Indians, fought desperately, while the adjacent woods resounded with their hideous yells; the English commanders with unequalled bravery repelled every attack and attempt of the enemy to break through their lines—MIANTINOMI and his fighting men, likewise most heroically distinguished themselves—boldly facing the enemy, they with their long knives and tomahawks, made terrible slaughter among them.—After two hours hard fighting, the English having expended all their ammunition, the action became still more close and severe, the English clubbing their muskets, fell upon the enemy with the fury of lions, and very soon compelled the few that remained alive to surrender.—It should be here mentioned as a remarkable instance of *savage bravery*, that MIANTINOMI, in this severe contest, espying the Sachem of the Pequods surrounded by a dozen or more of his bravest men, boldly cut his way through and slew him, and after detaching the head from the body (with an old sword which had been presented him for the purpose) brought it and laid it at the feet of Col. STOUTENON.

The English having completely overpowered the enemy, entered their fort and set it on fire, in which the few Indians that remained alive, and were unwilling to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the English, were consumed.—This action proving a decisive one, was of the greatest importance to the English—victory was not, however, obtained without considerable loss on their part; their number of slain amounting to 68, and the number

of wounded being still greater—the exact loss of the Pequods could never be ascertained, it was supposed to have exceeded 500 !—The English having thus completely effected their object, after burying their dead, returned home, and for this noble exploit, the thanks of the Governor and Council were publicly bestowed upon them.

After the complete extermination of the Pequod tribe, the Narragansets (the most numerous tribe in New-England) being displeased with the small power with which they were vested by the English, and the great respect which the latter had ever manifested for UNCAS, the chief Sachem of the Mohegans, appeared disposed to break their treaty of friendship.—The Narragansets were much animated by the haughty spirit and aspiring mind of their Sachem MIANTINOMI ; who, it was by the English conjectured, was treacherously devising means to draw all the Indian tribes throughout the country into a conspiracy against them.—Letters were forwarded to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, by their friends in Connecticut, in which they strongly urged the necessity of an immediate co-operation of their forces, for their general safety ; as to them, the plot of MIANTINOMI had been discovered by a friendly Indian.—Upon the receipt of this important information, from Connecticut, the General Court of the three colonies was immediately convened, and by them it was resolved, that such of the Indians as had been presented as a token of respect with fire-arms, should be deprived of them, and that MIANTINOMI, should be immediately summoned to appear before them, to confute, if possible, the serious charges which had been alledged against him—the summons was obeyed by MIANTINOMI, and while before the Court, peremptorily demanded that his accusers should likewise be compelled to appear.—No one appearing publicly to

accuse MIAANTINOMI, he promptly charged UNCAS, the Mohegan Sachem, with being the fabricator of the report—this charge enkindled the resentment of UNCAS, who challenged MIAANTINOMI to fight him in single combat, which MIAANTINOMI declining, UNCAS declared war against the Narragansets.

UNCAS was a very distinguished friend of the English, and had by his many services signalized himself as such—in no one did they repose more confidence—he was brave and resolute, and a terror to his enemies; while to his friends, he was always pleasing and condescending.—The first engagement which took place between these two very powerful tribes, was on the first of August, 1643, which was as severe as it was decisive; the Narragansets having been much tutored by the English, fought with becoming bravery, but nothing could withstand the invincible spirit of UNCAS, who, after routing his enemies, pursued MIAANTINOMI in person, and took him prisoner, and shortly after severed his head from his body.

The English now enjoyed a peace until the year 1671, when they again took up arms to revenge the death of one of their countrymen, who had been inhumanly murdered by an Indian belonging to the Nipnet tribe, of which the celebrated PHILIP, of Mount Hope (now Bristol R. I.) was Sachem.—It was thought the most prudent step, by the Governor and Council, first to send for PHILIP, and acquaint him with the cause of their resentment, and the course which they were determined to pursue, in case he refused to deliver into their hands the murderer—PHILIP being accordingly sent for, and appearing before the Court, appeared much dissatisfied with the conduct of the accused, assuring them that no pains should be spared to bring him to justice; and more fully to confirm his friendship for the English, expressed

a wish that the declaration which he was about publicly to make, might be committed to paper, that he and his Council, might thereunto affix their signatures. The Governor and Council, in compliance with the request of PHILIP, drew up the following, which after being signed by PHILIP and his chief men, was presented to the Governor by PHILIP in confirmation of his friendly assurances :—

“ Whereas my father, my brother, and myself, have uniformly submitted to the good and wholesome laws of his majesty, the king of England, and have ever respected his faithful subjects, the English, as our friends and brothers, and being still anxious to brighten the chain of friendship between us, we do now embrace this opportunity to pledge ourselves, that we will spare no pains in seeking out and bringing to justice, such of our tribe as shall hereafter commit any outrage against them ; and to remove all suspicion, we voluntarily agree to deliver up to them, all the fire-arms, which they have heretofore kindly presented us with, until such time as they can safely repose confidence in us—and for the true performance of these our sacred promises, we have hereunto set our hands.

Chief Sachem.

PHILIP'S ✕ mark.

Chief Men.

POKANOKET'S ✕ mark.

UNCOMBO'S ✕ mark.

SANKAMA'S ✕ mark.

WOCOKOM'S ✕ mark.

In presence of the }  
Governor and Council. }

Boston, April 10, 1671.

Notwithstanding the fair promises of PHILIP, it was soon discovered by the English, that he was playing a deep game, that he was artfully enticing his red brethren throughout the whole of New-England, to rise, en



masse, against them, and drive them out of the country; the Narragansets, for this purpose, had engaged to raise 4000 fighting men—the spring of 1672, was the time agreed upon on which the grand blow was to be given.—The evil intentions of PHILIP, was first discovered and communicated to the English, by a friendly Indian, of the Narraganset tribe; fortunately for them. this Indian had been taken into favor by the Rev. Mr. ELLIOT, by whom he had been taught to read and write, and became much attached to the English.—The Governor upon receiving the important information relative to the hostile views of PHILIP, ordered a military watch to be kept up in all the English settlements within the three colonies; by some of whom it was soon discovered that the report of their Indian friend was too well founded, as the Indians of different tribes were daily seen flocking in great numbers to the head-quarters of PHILIP; previously sending their wives and children to the Narraganset country, which they had ever done previous to the commencement of hostilities.

The inhabitants of Swanzey (a small settlement adjoining Mount-Hope, the head-quarters of PHILIP) were the first who felt the effects of this war.—PHILIP, encouraged by the numbers who were daily enlisting under his banners, and despairing of discovering cause that could justify him in the commencement of hostilities against his “friends and brothers,” as he had termed them, resolved to provoke them to war by killing their cattle, firing their barns, &c.—this plan had its desired effect, as the inhabitants, determined to save their property or perish in the attempt, fired upon the Indians, which was deemed cause sufficient by the latter to commence their bloody work—the *war-hoop* was immediately thereupon sounded, when the Indians commenced an indiscriminate murder of the defenceless inhabitants of

Swansey, sparing not the tender infant at the breast!—but three, of seventy-eight persons which the town contained, made their escape.—Messengers were despatched with the melancholy tidings of this bloody affair, to the Governor, who by and with the advice of the Council, despatched a company of militia with all possible speed to the relief of the distressed inhabitants residing near the head quarters of PHILIP;—as soon as they could be raised, three companies more were despatched under the command of Captains HENCHMAN, PRENTICE, and MOSELY, who arrived in the neighborhood of Swansey, on the 28th June, where they were joined by four more companies from Plymouth colony—it was found that the Indians had pillaged and set fire to the village, and with their booty had retired to Mount-Hope—a company of cavalry were sent under the command of Capt. PRENTICE, to reconnoitre them; but before they arrived at a convenient place for this purpose, they were ambushed and fired upon by the enemy, who killed six of their number and wounded ten—the report of their guns alarming the remaining companies of the English, they hastened to the relief of the cavalry, who at this moment were completely surrounded by about 600 Indians, between whom and the English a warm contest now ensued; the savages fought desperately, and more than once nearly succeeded in overpowering the English, but very fortunately for them, when nearly despairing of victory, a fresh company of militia from Boston arrived; which flanking the enemy on the right and left, and exposing them to two fires, soon overpowered them, and caused them to seek shelter in an adjoining wood, inaccessible to the English.—The English had in this severe engagement 42 killed, and 73 wounded, many of them mortally—the enemy's loss was supposed to be much greater.

On the 30th, Major SAVAGE (who by his Excellency the Governor had been appointed Commander in Chief of the combined English forces) arrived with an additional company of cavalry, who with the remaining companies the following day commenced their march for Mount-Hope, the head quarters of PHILIP—on their way, the English were affected with a scene truly distressing; the Savages, not content with bathing their tomahawks in the blood of the defenceless inhabitants of Swanzey, had, it was discovered, in many instances detached their limbs from their mangled bodies, and affixed them to poles which were extended in the air, among which were discovered the heads of several infant children, the whole of which, by order of Maj. SAVAGE were collected and buried.

The English arrived at Mount-Hope about sun-set, but the enemy having received information of their approach, had deserted their wigwags and retired into a neighboring wood.—Major SAVAGE, to pursue the enemy with success, now divided his men into separate companies, which he ordered to march in different directions, stationing 40 at Mount-Hope.—On the 4th July, the men under the command of Captains CHURCH, and HUTCHINSON, fell in with a body of the enemy, to the number of 200, whom they attacked; the English being but 32 in number, including officers, victory for a considerable length of time appeared much in favour of the Savages, but very fortunately for the former being commanded by bold and resolute officers, they defended themselves in the most heroic manner until relieved by a company of cavalry under the command of Capt. PRENTICE.—The Indians now in turn finding the fire of the English too warm for them, fled in every direction, leaving 30 of their number dead and about 60 severely wounded, on the field of action—the English in this en-



gement had 7 killed, and 22 wounded, five of whom survived the action but a few hours.

This action, so far from daunting the bold and resolute Capt. CHURCH, seemed to inspire him with additional bravery ; unwilling that any of the enemy should escape, he boldly led his men into an almost impenetrable forest, into which those who survived the action had fled—the Indians perceiving the English approaching, concealed themselves from their view by lying flat on their bellies, in which situation they remained concealed until the English had advanced within a few rods of them, when each unperceived fixing upon his man, discharged a shower of arrows among them—this unexpected check threw the English into confusion, which the Indians perceiving, rushed furiously upon them with their knives and tomahawks, shouting horribly !—the English (their cavalry being unable to afford them assistance) were now in a very disagreeable situation, the trees being so very large as to render it difficult to use their fire arms with any effect, and they were very soon so encompassed by the Savages, as to render almost every effort to defend themselves, useless ; of 64 who entered the swamp, but 27 escaped, among whom, very fortunately, was their valuable leader Capt. CHURCH.

The English finding that they could neither bring their enemies to action in open field, or engage them with any success in the forest in which they were lodged, returned home, with the exception of three companies, who by Major SAVAGE were stationed near the borders of a swamp, into which it was strongly suspected that PHILIP, with a number of his tribe, had fled—this swamp was two miles in length, and to the English inaccessible.—PHILIP, who had been watching the motion of his enemies, perceiving the greater part of them marching off conjectured that their object was

to obtain a reinforcement ; impressed with this belief, he resolved to improve the first opportunity to escape with a few chosen men, by water, (the swamp bordering on an extensive cove)—this he with little difficulty effected the proceeding night, taking the advantage of a low tide. They were soon after their escape discovered and pursued by the inhabitants of Rehoboth, accompanied by a party of the Mohegans, who had volunteered their services against PHILIP.

The Rehoboth militia came up with the rear of the enemy about sunset, and killed 12 of them, without sustaining any loss on their part ; night prevented their engaging the whole force of PHILIP, but early the succeeding morning they continued the pursuit, the Indians had however fled with such precipitancy that it was found impossible to overtake them—they bent their course to the westward, exhorting the different tribes through which they passed to take up arms against the English.

The United Colonies became now greatly alarmed at the hostile views and rapid strides of PHILIP—the General Court was constantly in sitting and endeavouring to plan means to cut him off before he should have an opportunity to corrupt the minds of too many of his countrymen.

While the Court was thus employed, information was received that PHILIP had arrived in the neighbourhood of Brookfield (situated about 65 miles from Boston) and that a number of its inhabitants had been inhumanly butchered by his adherents.—Orders were immediately thereupon issued for the raising ten companies of foot and horse, to be dispatched to the relief of the unfortunate inhabitants of Brookfield ; but before they could reach that place PHILIP and his party had entered the town, and indiscriminately put to death almost every in-

habitant which it contained, the few that escaped having taken the precaution, previous to the attack, to assemble together in one house, which they strongly fortified; this house was furiously attacked by the savages and several times set on fire, and the besieged were on the point of surrendering when Major WILLARD happily arrived to their relief.—Between the English and the Indians a desperate engagement now ensued, the former by the express command of their officers, gave no quarter, but in a very heroic manner rushed upon the savages with clubbed muskets; the action continued until near sunset, when the few Indians that remained alive sought shelter in the neighboring woods.—In this engagement the English had 22 killed and 76 wounded—the enemy's loss was 217 killed, and between 200 and 300 wounded, who by way of retaliation (for their barbarity exercised toward the defenceless inhabitants of Brookfield) were immediately put to death.

The Governor and Council, on learning the fate of the unfortunate inhabitants of Brookfield, despatched a reinforcement of three companies of cavalry to Major WILLARD, and ordered the like number to be sent him from Hartford, in Connecticut colony, with which he was directed to pursue PHILIP with fire and sword, to whatever part of the country he should resort.

It being discovered that a part of PHILIP's force had fled to Hatfield, two companies of English, under command of Capt. LATHROP, and Capt. BEERS, were sent in pursuit of them, who within about three miles of Hatfield, overtook and attacked them, but the force of the English being greatly inferior to that of the enemy, the former were defeated and driven back to the main body, which enabled the enemy (who had in the late engagement been detached from their main body) to join PHILIP.—On the 18th September, information was received

by Major WILLARD that the enemy had successively attacked and defeated the troops under the command of Capt. LATHROP, that they were ambushed and unexpectedly surrounded by 1000 of the enemy, to whom they all (except three, who escaped) fell a sacrifice!—The defeat of Capt. LATHROP took place in the neighborhood of Deerfield, for the defence of which, there was an English garrison, which the Indians were about to attack when Major WILLARD happily arrived, on the approach of whom, the Indians fled.

On the 10th October following, a party of PHILIP'S Indians successfully assaulted the town of Springfield, which they pillaged and set fire to, killing about 40 of the inhabitants.—On the 14th they assaulted the town of Hatfield, in which two companies, under the command of Capt. MESELY, and Capt. APPLETON, were stationed; the enemy continued the attack for about two hours, when finding the fire of the English too warm for them, they fled, leaving a number of their party behind them dead.

PHILIP now finding himself closely pursued by a large and formidable body of the English, deemed it prudent to bend his course toward his old place of residence, there to remain until the ensuing spring.

But the Commissioners of the United Colonies, duly reflecting on the deplorable situation of their defenceless brethren throughout the country, aware that there were then a much greater number of their savage enemies embodied, than at any former period, who, if suffered peaceably to retire into winter quarters, might prove too powerful for them the spring ensuing, resolved to attack the whole force under PHILIP in their winter encampment—for the purpose of which, every Englishman, capable of bearing arms, were commanded (by Proclamation of the Governor) to hold himself in readiness to

march at the shortest notice.—The 10th of December, was the day appointed by the Commissioners on which the decisive blow was to be given—six companies were immediately raised in Massachusetts, consisting in the whole of 527 men, to the command of which were appointed Captains MOSELY, GARDNER, DAVENPORT, OLIVER, and JOHNSON—five companies were raised in Connecticut, consisting of 450 men, to the command of which were appointed Captains SIELY, GALLOP, MASON, WATTS, and MARSHALL—two companies were likewise raised in Plymouth, consisting of 150 men, who were commanded by Captains RICE and GORAM;—three Majors of the three respective divisions, were also appointed, to wit: Major APPLETON of Massachusetts—Major TREAT of Connecticut, and Major BRADFORD of Plymouth—the whole force, consisting of 1127 men, were commanded by Major-General WINSLOW, late Governor of the colonies.—On the 7th December, the combined forces commenced their march for the head-quarters of the enemy—at this inclement season it was with the utmost difficulty that the troops were enabled to penetrate through a wild and pathless wood—on the morning of the 9th (having travelled all the preceding night) they arrived at the border of an extensive swamp, in which they were informed by their guides, the enemy were encamped, to the number of 2000.—The English (after partaking of a little refreshment) formed for battle.—Capt. MOSELY, and Capt. DAVENPORT led the van, and Maj. APPLETON, and Capt. OLIVER, brought up the rear of the Massachusetts forces—General WINSLOW, with the Plymouth troops, formed the centre—the Connecticut troops under the command of their respective captains, together with about 300 of the Mohegans, commanded by UNCAS, brought up the rear.

It was discovered by an Indian sent for that purpose,



that in the centre of the swamp, the enemy had built a very strong fort, of so wise construction, that it was with difficulty that more than one person could enter at one time.—About 10 o'clock, A. M. the English, with the sound of the trumpet, entered the swamp, and when within about fifty rods of their fort, were met and attacked by the enemy—the Indians, in their usual manner, shouting and howling like beasts of prey, commenced the attack with savage fury, but with a hideous noise the English were not to be intimidated; charging them with unequalled bravery, the enemy were soon glad to seek shelter within the walls of their fort;—the English having closely pressed upon the enemy, as they retreated, now in turn found themselves in a very disagreeable situation, exposed to the fire of the Indians, (who were covered by a high breastwork) they were not even enabled to act on the defensive.—At this critical juncture, the lion-hearted UNCAS, with the assent of Gen. WINSLOW, offered (with the men under his command) to scale the walls of the fort, which being approved of by the English commanders, UNCAS, with about sixty picked men, in an instant ascended to the top of the fort, where having a fair chance at the enemy, they hurled their tomahawks and discharged their arrows with such success among them, as in a very short time to throw them into the utmost confusion; those who attempted to escape from the fort, were instantly cut in pieces by the troops without—the enemy finding themselves thus hemmed in, and attacked on all sides, in the most abject terms begged for quarter, which was denied them by the English—a great proportion of the troops being now mounted on the walls of the fort, they had nothing to do but load and fire, the enemy being penned up and huddled together in such a manner, that there was scarcely a shot lost.—This bloody contest was of near six hours

continuance, when, the English perceiving the fort filled with nought but dead, or such as were mortally wounded of the enemy, closed the bloody conflict.

The scene of action at this instant was indeed such as could not fail to shock the stoutest hearted!—the huge logs of which the fort was constructed, were completely crimsoned with the blood of the enemy, while the surrounding woods resounded with the dying groans of the wounded.—The number of slain of the enemy in this severe engagement, could not be ascertained, it was however immense; of 2000 which the fort was supposed to contain at the commencement of the action, not 200 escaped! among whom unfortunately was the treacherous *PHILIP*.

Although the destruction of so great a number of the enemy was considered of the greatest importance to the English, yet it proved a conquest dearly bought—it was obtained at the expence of the lives of not only a great number of privates, but a great proportion of their most valuable officers; among whom were Captains DAVENPORT, GARDNER, JOHNSON, SIELY and MARSHALL—on enumerating their number of slain and wounded, it was found as follows:—

*Of the companies commanded by*

Captains MOSELY,	10 killed,	40 wounded.
OLIVER,	20	48
GARDNER,	11	32
JOHNSON,	18	38
DAVENPORT,	15	19
GALLUP,	28	43
SIELY,	32	50
WATTS,	19	35
MARSHALL,	25	37
GORAM,	50	41
Sachem UNCAS,	51	82

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Total 259      Total 463

The Pequod, Narraganset and Nipnet tribes, being by the late action, nearly exterminated, the few that survived (by the direction of PHILIP) fled in small parties to different parts of the country, improving every opportunity that presented to revenge the deaths of their brethren.—On the 10th February, 1678, about 100 of them surprized the inhabitants of Lancaster, (Mass.) a part of whom, as a place of greater safety, had the day previous resorted to the dwelling of the Rev. Mr. ROWLAND, this however being constructed of dry logs, was set fire to by the Indians, which the unfortunate English within being unable to extinguish, they fell victims to the devouring flames.—On the 21st the enemy attacked the inhabitants of Medfield, 32 of whom they killed and of the remainder made captives.

On the 2d March, the Indians still continuing their depredations, two companies of cavalry, under the command of Capt. PIERCE and Capt. WATKINS, were ordered out for the purpose of protecting the defenceless inhabitants of the towns most dangerously situated—on the 4th they marched to Pautuxet, near where there were a considerable body of Indians encamped, whom, on the morning of the 5th, they fell in with and attacked—the enemy at first appeared but few in number, but these were only employed to decoy the English, who, on a sudden, found themselves surrounded by more than 300 Indians, who, with their tomahawks and scalping knives, rushing furiously upon them, threatened them with instant destruction!—The English now acting upon the defensive, although surrounded by five times their number, fought with their usual spirit, and were resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible, they were very soon however compelled to yield to the superior force of their savage enemies; but five escaped!—This victory, though of considerable importance to the savages,



(the fire-arms of the conquered falling into their hands) cost them a number of their bravest warriors, 100 of whom were the proceeding day found dead upon the field of action—there were in this engagement about 20 friendly Indians with the English, who fought like desperadoes, one of them observing Capt. PIERCE unable to stand, in consequence of the many wounds he had received, for nearly two hours bravely defended him; when perceiving his own imminent danger, and that he could afford the captain no further assistance, by blacking his face as the enemy had done, escaped unnoticed.

On the 25th March, a party of Indians attacked and burnt the towns of Weymouth and Warwick, killing a great number of the inhabitants.—On the 10th April following they pillaged and burnt Rehoboth and Providence.

On the 1st May, a company of English and 150 Mohegans, under command of Capt. GEORGE DENNISON, were sent in pursuit of a body of the enemy commanded by the son of MIANTINOMI; on the 8th they met with and attacked them, near Groton—the Indians, apparently determined on victory or death, displayed an unusual degree of courage, but the English and Mohegans proved too strong for them, who after destroying the greater part with their muskets and tomahawks, drove the remainder into a neighboring river, where they soon perished.

On the 23d, CONONCHET, Sachem of the few scattered remains of the Narragansets, proposed to his Council that the lands bordering on Connecticut river, not inhabited by the English, should be by them planted with corn, for their future subsistence, which being approved of by the latter, 200 of the Narragansets were despatched for this purpose—the Governor being apprized of their intentions, despatched three companies of cavalry to in-

percept them; about 100 of the Mohegans, under the command of ONECO, (the son of UNCAS) accompanied the English—the enemy were commanded by CONONCHET in person, who first proceeded to Seconk to procure seed corn; it was in the neighborhood of this place that they were first met with and engaged by the English and Mohegans—the enemy with becoming bravery, for a long time withstood the attack, but being but poorly provided with weapons, they were at length overpowered, and compelled to yield to the superior power of their enemies.—In the midst of the action CONONCHET, fearful of the issue, deserted his men and attempted to seek shelter in a neighboring wood, but being recognized by the Mohegans, they pursued him—CONONCHET, perceiving himself nearly overtaken by his pursuers, to facilitate his flight first threw away his blanket, and then his silver laced coat (with which he had been presented by the English a few weeks previous,) but finding that he could not escape from his pursuers by flight, he plunged into a river, where he was even followed by half a dozen resolute Mohegans, who laying hold of him forced him under water and there held him until drowned.—The loss of the English and Mohegans in this engagement was 12 killed and 21 wounded, that of the enemy was 43 killed and about 80 wounded.

The inhabitants of New-London, Norwich and Stonington, having frequently discovered a number of the enemy lurking about in small bodies, in the adjacent woods, by joint agreement voluntarily enlisted themselves (to the number of 300) under the command of Major PALMER, and Captains DENNISON, and AVERY, who with the assistance of the Mohegans, and a few friendly Narragansets, in three expeditions, destroyed nearly 1000 of the enemy.

On the 8th June the Indians assaulted and burnt

Bridgewater, a small settlement in the colony of Massachusetts, forty of its inhabitants fell victims to savage barbarity.

On the 12th a severe engagement took place between a company of English cavalry and about 300 of the enemy, near Groton—the latter were not perceived by the former, until they were within a few paces of them (the Indians having concealed themselves in the bushes) when suddenly issuing forth with a hideous yell, the cavalry were thrown into some confusion, but again forming and charging the enemy, they fled in every direction; the cavalry in attempting to pursue them, were once more ambushed; the contest now became close and severe, the Indians having succeeded in decoying the English into a thick wood, attacked them with great fury and success.—The commander of the English being killed, every man sought his own safety—of forty-five, of which this company was composed, but thirteen escaped!—the loss of the enemy was, however, probably much greater.

The Governor and Council of Massachusetts colony, aware of the danger to which many of the inland settlements were exposed, by frequent incursions of the enemy, and finding it extremely difficult to raise a sufficient force to oppose them in the many parts to which the fragments of the broken tribes had resorted, adopted the policy of sending among them, as spies, such Indians as could be depended on; which plan had its desired effect—these Indians representing the force of the English much greater than it really was, and warning the enemy of danger which did not at that time exist, deterred them from acting, in many instances, on the offensive.—One of the friendly Indians returning to Boston on the 10th July, reported as follows:—"that a large number of Indians were embodied in a wood near Lancaster, which place they intended to attack and burn in a few days, that

they had been encouraged to continue the war with the English by *Frenchmen*, from the great lake, who had supplied them with fire-arms and ammunition !”

On the receipt of this important information, the Governor despatched three companies of cavalry, under the command of Major SAVAGE, for the defence of Lancaster, who unfortunately by mistaking the road fell into an ambush of about 350 Indians, by whom they were instantly surrounded—the English exhibited great presence of mind, and repelled the attack of the enemy in a very heroic manner; the latter being, however, well provided with fire arms, soon gained a complete victory over the English, whose loss, in this unfortunate engagement was fifty-four !—the loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, as they remained masters of the field of action.

On the 12th August, a party of Indians entered the town of Westfield, and took a number of the inhabitants prisoners, and burnt several houses.—Three of them soon after made their appearance at a house near said town and fired at the man at his door, who fell; they ran towards him, and one of them stooping to scalp him, he was saluted by the man’s wife, with a stroke from a large hatchet in his back, which went so completely into his body, that at three different efforts, she could not disengage it, and the Indian made off with it sticking in him; a second Indian also made an attempt, when she, by a well directed stroke with a stick she had got, laid him on the ground; the third then run, and the other, as soon as he had recovered his feet, followed the example, on which the woman took her husband in her arms and carried him into the house, where he soon after recovered.

On the 17th, a party of Indians commenced an attack on Northampton, but there being a number of English soldiers therein stationed, the enemy were repulsed.

On the 20th, a number of the inhabitants of Springfield were attacked by a party of Indians as they were returning from divine service, and although the former were provided with fire-arms, the enemy succeeded in making prisoners of two women and several children, whom they soon after inhumanly tomahawked and scalped, in which situation they were the succeeding day found by a party of English, sent out in pursuit of the enemy—one of the unfortunate women (although shockingly mangled) was found still alive, and when so far recovered as to be enabled to speak, gave the following account of the fate of her unfortunate companions, to wit : —“That they were first conveyed by the savages to a thick wood, where they were severally bound with cords, that the Indians soon after built a fire and regaled themselves with what they had previously stolen from the English ; that soon after a warm dispute arose between them, relative to the prisoners, each claiming the women for their squaws (or wives) that they at length proceeded to blows, and after beating each other for some time with clubs, it was agreed by both parties (to prevent further altercation) that the women should be put to death, which they, as they supposed, carried immediately into execution ; the unfortunate narrator, received a severe blow on the head, which brought her senseless to the ground, and while in this situation, was scalped and left for dead by her savage enemies !”

The inhabitants of Sudbury, with a company of soldiers, under the command of Lieut. JACOBS, of Marlborough, alarmed at the near approach of the enemy (who, to the number of about 200 were encamped near that place) resolved to attack them at night ; accordingly on the 6th September, they marched within view of them, and at night (as they lay extended around a large fire) approached them unperceived, until within gun shot,



when they gave them the contents of their muskets ; many of those that remained unhurt, being suddenly aroused from their slumber by the yells of their wounded brethren, and imagining that they were completely surrounded by the English (whom the darkness of the night prevented their seeing) threw themselves into the fire which they had enkindled, and there perished ; but few if any escaped—in this attack the English sustained no loss.

On the 25th, a considerable body of the enemy attacked the inhabitants of Marlborough, many of whom they killed, and set fire to their houses—a company of English who had been ordered from Concord for the defence of this place were cut off by the savages, and totally destroyed—two other companies despatched from Boston, for the like purpose, met with the same fate—it appeared that the Governor, on learning the situation of the unfortunate inhabitants of Marlborough, despatched to their relief, two companies under the command of Captains WADSWORTH and SMITH, who before they arrived at their place of destination, were informed that the savages had quit Marlborough, and proceeded for Sudbury, (12 miles distant) which induced the English to alter their course and proceed immediately for the latter place—of this, it appeared, that the enemy had been apprized by their runners, and had lain a plan to cut them off ere they should reach Sudbury, which they in the following manner completely effected—learning the course which the English would take, they, within a few rods thereof, stationed 50 or 60 of their number in an open field, who were ordered to retreat into a neighboring thicket as soon as discovered and pursued by the English ; in this thicket the remainder of the Indians, to the number of 300, concealed themselves, by prostrating themselves flat on their bellies—the English on their arrival, espying the



Indians in the field, and presuming them to be but few in number, pursued and attacked them, who very soon retreated to the fatal spot where their treacherous brethren lay concealed and prepared to give their pursuers a warm if not a fatal reception; here they were closely pursued by the English, who too late discovered the fatal snare which had been laid for them; in an instant they were completely surrounded and attacked on all sides by the savages; the English for several hours bravely defended themselves, but at length were borne down by numbers far superior to their own—thus fell the brave captain WADSWORTH, and captain SMITH, as well as most of the troops under their command.

The Indians bordering on the river Merrimack, feeling themselves injured by the encroachments of the English, once more reassumed the bloody tomahawk, which had been buried for a number of years.—On the 1st November they in a considerable body entered the villages of Chelmsford and Woburn, and indiscriminately put to death every inhabitant they contained, not sparing the infant at the breast!—On the 9th they burnt the house of a Mr. EAMES, near Concord, killed his wife and made captives of his children.—On the 15th they took prisoner a young woman (fifteen years of age) who, by the family with whom she resided, had been placed on a hill in the neighbourhood of their dwelling to watch the motions of the enemy—the account which the young woman gave of her capture and escape, was as follow:—that “on the morning of her capture, the family having been informed that a party of Indians had the day previous been discovered in a neighbouring wood, she (by their request) ascended a hill near the house to watch their motions, and alarm the family if seen approaching the house; that about noon she discovered a number of them ascending the hill in great haste, that she immedi-

ately thereupon attempted to evade them by retiring into a thicket, but that the Indians (who it appeared had before observed her) found her after a few moments search, and compelled her to accompany them to her settlement, about 40 miles distant—it was here they gave her to understand she must remain and become their squaw, and dress and cook their victuals—that she remained with them about three weeks, during which time they made several expeditions against the English, and returned with a great number of scalps—that on the night of the 6th December, they returned with six horses, which they had stolen from the English, which having turned into a small enclosure, they set out on a new expedition—that she viewed this as a favourable opportunity to escape, to effect which, she caught and mounted one of the horses, and making use of a strip of bark for a bridle, she penetrated a wild and pathless wood, and arrived at Concord at seven o'clock the proceeding morning, having travelled all the preceding night to evade the pursuit of the enemy!"—In like manner did one of the children of Mr. EAMES (of whose capture mention is made in the preceding page) escape from the Indians, although but ten years of age, he travelled sixty miles through an uninhabited wood, subsisting on acorns!

On the 12th December a party of Indians attacked and killed several of the inhabitants of Bradford. The Governor, for the protection of the defenceless inhabitants on the Merrimack, ordered the raising and equipping of four companies of cavalry, to the command of which were appointed as captains, Messrs. SILL, CUTLER, HOLYOKE and PRENTICE.

On the 23d the above troops proceeded for the borders of the Merrimack, and on the 26th they fell in with a considerable body of the enemy whom they engaged and

completely defeated.—On the 2nd January, 1669, Capt. PRENTICE, detached from the main body, fell in with and engaged about 100 of the enemy near Rehoboth, whom he likewise defeated, but with considerable loss on his part.

On the 5th, the son of the brave Capt. HOLYOKE, of Springfield, receiving information that a number of the enemy in small bodies were skulking about in the woods bordering on that town, with twenty resolute young men marched out to attack them—falling in with a considerable body of them, an engagement ensued, which though severe terminated at length in favour of the English—the Indians being furnished with fire-arms, were unwilling to give ground, and would probably have remained masters of the field, had not the English received a reinforcement which put them to flight—the loss of the English in this engagement was 5 killed and 9 wounded, and that of the enemy, 21 killed, and 29 wounded.

The savages were no longer confined to any particular tribe, or place, but in parties from 50 to 300, were scattered all over the thinly inhabited parts of New-England—a considerable number of them were yet in the neighborhood of Hadley, Deerfield and Northampton, where they were continually committing their wanton acts of barbarity.—The inhabitants of the above mentioned towns, duly reflecting on the danger to which they were daily exposed, formed themselves into several companies and made choice of their commanders.—On the 2d of February, receiving information that there were near 200 Indians embodied in a swamp in the neighborhood of Deerfield, the above mentioned force marched out to attack them; arriving within view of them about day-break, they discovered the whole stretched out upon the ground around their fire, wrapped in the arms of Morpheus—the cavalry immediately thereupon alighted, and

after forming themselves, approached them within pistol shot before they were discovered by the enemy; who, being suddenly aroused from their slumber, and astonished at the unexpected appearance of so many of their enemies, fell an easy prey to the English, who, without the loss of a man, killed 120 of them; the remainder, as the only means of escape, having plunged into a river, where probably many of them perished. -

Although the English achieved this action without any loss on their part, they were on their return unhappily ambushed by about 400 of the enemy—the English having expended all their ammunition in the late engagement, and being much fatigued, were now in turn likely to fall an easy prey to their enemies, who, with their bloody knives and tomahawks, for the space of an hour, attacked them with the greatest success—not one of the English, it is probable, would have survived this bloody and unexpected attack, had it not been for the presence of mind of their brave commander (Capt. HOLYOKE,) who by a stratagem, succeeded in saving a part of them—Capt. HOLYOKE had his horse killed under him, and at one time was attacked by five of the enemy, whom he beat off with his cutlass;—the loss of the English in this unfortunate action was 51 killed and 84 wounded, many of the latter survived the action but a few days—the defeat and destruction of the English in this engagement was much to be lamented, as among the slain were the heads of several families who had volunteered their services in defence of their infant settlements.

On the 10th, several hundreds of the enemy, encouraged by their late success, appeared before Hatfield and fired several dwelling-houses without the fortification of the town—the inhabitants of Hadley being seasonably apprized of the situation of their brethren at Hatfield, a number of them volunteered their services and marched



to their relief—the Indians as they were accustomed to do, on the approach of the English, lay flat on their bellies until they were within bow shot, when partly rising, they discharged a shower of arrows among them, which wounded several of the English, but the latter having wisely reserved their fire, now levelled their pieces with the best effect at the enemy, before they had time to recover their legs, which killing a number of them, the remainder fled with great precipitancy.

On the 3d February the Governor of the Colonies receiving information that the Indians were collecting in great numbers near Brookfield, despatched Capt. HENCHMAN, with 50 men to dislodge them, who proceeding first to Hadley, was joined by a company of cavalry from Hartford—on the ninth they discovered and attacked a party of Indians near Lancaster, they killed fifty of them, and took between fifty and sixty of their women and children prisoners.—Capt. HENCHMAN on his way to Brookfield, discovered the dead bodies of several of his countrymen half consumed by fire, who it appears had a few days previous fallen victims to the wanton barbarity of the savages.

The scattered remains of the enemy being now so completely harrassed and driven from place to place by the English, a number of them resorted to the western country, then inhabited by the Mohawks; but the latter being on friendly terms with the English and Dutch, who were settling among them, were unwilling to harbor their enemies, and consequently attacked a considerable body of them on the 5th March; the engagement was a severe one—the fugitive Indians being furnished with fire-arms, repelled the attack of the Mohawks with a becoming spirit, but at length were overpowered and completely defeated—the loss on both sides was very great.

On the 10th, the Indians took a Mr. WILLET prisoner

near Swanzey, and after cutting off his ears and nose, set him at liberty, in which situation he returned nearly exhausted with loss of blood to his family.—On the 20th, a negro man who had been for several months a prisoner among them, made his escape and returned to the English, to whom he gave the following information, to wit:—that the enemy were concerting a plan to attack Taunton and the villages adjacent—that for this purpose there were then embodied near Worcester, 1000 of them, one hundred of whom were furnished with fire-arms—that a few days previous to his escape, a scouting party arrived and brought in with them twenty head of horned cattle and seven human scalps!—To frustrate the intentions of the enemy, the Governor despatched three companies of cavalry for the defence of Taunton.

The English of Connecticut colony (although but little troubled with the enemy since the destruction of the Pequods) were willing to afford their brethren all the assistance possible, in a protracted and bloody war with their unmerciful foes—they accordingly furnished three companies of cavalry, who, under the command of the experienced Major TALCOTT, on the 2d April proceeded to the westward, in search of the enemy—on the 6th they fell in with attacked and defeated a considerable body of them—apparently, by the special direction of divine providence, Maj. TALCOTT arrived in the neighborhood of Hadley, in time to preserve that town, and save its unfortunate inhabitants from total destruction!—the enemy to the number of 500, were on the eve of entering the town when they were met by the Major, with the troops under his command; this unexpected relief animating the few inhabitants which the town contained, they hastened to the assistance of their brethren, who at this moment were seriously engaged with the whole body of the enemy—victory for a long time appeared uncertain—the



enemy at the commencement of the action having gained some signal advantages, victory for a considerable time appeared likely to decide in their favor—fortunately, the inhabitants of Hadley having for their defence a few weeks previous, procured from Boston an eight pounder, it was at this critical period loaded by the women, and being mounted, was conveyed by them to the English, which (being loaded with nails, small shot, &c.) was by them discharged with the best effect upon the enemy, who immediately thereupon fled in every direction—thus it was that the English in a great measure, owed the preservation of their lives to the unexampled heroism of a few women !

The Governor and Council of the United Colonies, taking under serious consideration the miraculous escape of the inhabitants of Hadley, from total destruction, and the late success of the arms of the English in various parts of the country, appointed the 27th day of August, 1669, to be observed throughout the Colonies as a day of *Public Thanksgiving and Praise to ALMIGHTY GOD* ; —this, it may be well to observe, was the commencement of an annual custom of our forefathers, which to the present day, is so religiously observed by their descendants throughout the New-England states.

On the 3d September, the Connecticut forces under command of Major TALCOTT, and Captains DENNISON and NEWBURY, proceeded to Narraganset in quest of the enemy, who to the number of about 300 had a few days previous been discovered in a piece of woods near Mount Hope—the English were accompanied by their faithful friend, UNCAS, with 100 Mohegans under his command. —In the evening of the 6th, they discovered the Indians encamped at the foot of a steep hill, on which Major TALCOTT made arrangements for an attack—the Mohegans were ordered by a circuitous route to gain the

summit of the hill, to prevent the flight of the enemy—two companies of cavalry were ordered to flank them on the right and left, while Major TALCOTT, with a company of foot, stationed himself in their rear—having thus disposed of his forces, a signal gun was fired for the Mohegans to commence the attack, which they did and with such spirit (accompanied by their savage yells) that had the enemy been renowned for their bravery they must have been to the highest degree appalled at so unexpected an onset!—after contending a few moments with the Mohegans, they were attacked on the right and left by the cavalry, who with their cutlasses made great havoc among them; they were however unwilling to give ground until they had lost nearly one half their number, when they attempted a flight to a swamp in their rear, but here they were met by Maj. TALCOTT, with the company of foot, who gave them so warm a reception that they once more fell back upon the Mohegans, by whom they were very soon overpowered, and would have been wholly destroyed had not Maj. TALCOTT humanly interfered in their behalf, and made prisoners of the few that remained alive—among the latter was their leader, a squaw, commonly termed the queen of Narraganset; and among them an active young fellow who begged to be delivered into the hands of the Mohegans, that they might put him to death in their *own way*, and sacrifice him to their cruel genius of revenge in which they so much delighted!—The English, although naturally averse to acts of savage barbarity, were not in this instance unwilling to comply with the voluntary although unnatural request of the prisoner, as it appeared that he had exultingly boasted in presence of the Mohegans of having killed 19 of the English with his gun, and after charging it for the 20th (there being no more of the latter within reach) he levelled at a

Mohegan, whom he killed, which completing his number, he was willing to die by their hands!—the Mohegans accordingly began to prepare for the tragical event—forming themselves into a circle (admitting as many of the English as were disposed to witness their tragical proceedings) the prisoner was placed in the centre, when one of the Mohegans, who in the late engagement had lost a brother, with his knife cut off the prisoners ears! then his nose! and then the fingers of each hand!—and after the relapse of a few moments, dug out his eyes and filled their sockets with hot embers!!—although the few English present were overcome with a view of a scene so shocking to humanity, yet the prisoner (so far from bewailing his fate) seemed to surpass his tormentors in expressions of joy!—when nearly exhausted with the loss of blood, and unable longer to stand, his executioner closed the tragic scene by beating out his brains with a tomahawk!

The few Indians that now remained in the neighborhood of Plymouth colony, being in a state of starvation, they surrendered themselves prisoners to the English; one of whom, being recognized as the person who had a few days previous inhumanly murdered the daughter of a Mr. CLARKE, was, by order of the Governor, publicly executed; the remainder were retained and treated as prisoners of war.—By the assistance of one of the prisoners, who served as guide, 20 more of the enemy were on the proceeding day surprized and taken prisoners by the English.

The troops under the command of Major BRADFORD, and Captains MOSELY and BRATTLE, on the 15th September surprized and took 150 of the enemy prisoners near Pautuxet, among whom was the squaw of the celebrated PHILIP—and on the day proceeding, learning that the enemy in considerable bodies were roving about in

the woods near Dedham, Maj. BRADFORD despatched Capt. BRATTLE with fifty men to attack them; who, the day following, fell in with and engaged about 100 of them; as hatchets were the only weapons with which they were provided, they made but a feeble defence, and were soon overpowered by the English, who took 74 of them prisoners, the remainder having fallen in the action—the loss of the English was two killed and five wounded—the above party was commanded by a blood thirsty Sachem, called POMHAM, renowned for his bodily strength, which exceeded that of any of his countrymen ever met with—he bravely defended himself to the last, being wounded in the breast, and unable to stand, he seized one of the soldiers while in the act of dispatching him with the butt of his gun, and by whom he would have been strangled, had he not been fortunately rescued by one of his comrades.

A general famine now prevailing among the enemy (in consequence of being deprived of an opportunity to plant their lands) numbers were daily compelled by hunger to surrender themselves prisoners to the English, among whom was a Nipnet Sachem, accompanied by 130 of his tribe.

On the 12th October, Capt. CHURCH, with fifty soldiers and a few friendly Indians under his command, attacked and defeated a party of the enemy near Providence—and on the day following (conducted by Indian guides) discovered a considerable body of the enemy encamped in a swamp near Pomfret; a friendly Indian first spying them, commanded them to surrender, but the enemy did not appear disposed to obey, being sheltered by large trees, they first discharged their arrows among the English and then with a terrible yell attacked them with their long knives and tomahawks—the English meeting with a much warmer reception than what they

expected, gave ground, but being rallied by their old and experienced commander, Capt. CHURCH, they rushed upon them with such impetuosity that the enemy were thrown into confusion and dislodged from their coverts—the action continued about an hour and a quarter—the English had 7 men killed, and 14 wounded, among whom was their brave commander, who received an arrow through his left arm—the loss of the enemy was 32 killed, and between 60 and 70 wounded.

On the 24th, information was forwarded the Governor and Council that the famous PHILIP (who had been for a long time skulking about in the woods near Mount-Hope, much disheartened by the ill-success of his countrymen) was the morning preceding discovered in a swamp near that place, attended by about 90 Seaconet Indians; on which the brave Capt. CHURCH, with his little band of invincibles were immediately despatched in pursuit of him—Capt. CHURCH was accompanied as usual by a number of the Mohegans, and a few friendly Seaconet Indians—on the 27th they arrived in the neighborhood of the swamp, near the border of which he stationed several of the Mohegans, to intercept PHILIP, in case he should attempt an escape therefrom. Capt. CHURCH, at the head of his little band, now with unconquerable resolution plunged into the swamp, and wading nearly to his waist in water discovered and attacked the enemy.—The Indians were nearly 100 strong, but being unexpectedly attacked they made no resistance but fled in every direction, the inaccessible state of the swamp however prevented the English from pursuing them with success—their dependence was now upon their friends stationed without—nor did it appear that those faithful fellows suffered so good an opportunity to pass unimproved—the report of their muskets convinced Capt. CHURCH that they were doing their duty—in confirmation of which,



he was very soon after presented with the head of KING PHILIP!!

PHILIP, it appeared in attempting to fly from his pursuers was recognized by one of the English who had been stationed with the Mohegans to intercept him, and at whom he levelled his piece, but the priming being unfortunately wet and preventing the discharge thereof, the cunning Sachem would yet have escaped, had not one of the brave sons of UNCAS at this instant given him the contents of his musket!—the ball went directly through his heart!—and thus fell by the hands of a faithful Mohegan, the famous PHILIP! who was the projector and instigator of a war which not only proved the cause of his own destruction, but that of nearly all his tribe, once the most numerous of any inhabiting New-England.

It was at this important instant that the English were made witnesses of a remarkable instance of savage custom—UNCAS, on learning that PHILIP had fallen by the hand of one of his tribe, urged that agreeable to their custom, he had an undoubted right to the body, and a right to feast himself with a piece thereof! which the English not objecting to, he deliberately drew his long knife from his girdle and with it detached a piece of flesh from the bleeding body of PHILIP of about one pound weight, which he broiled and eat, in the mean time declaring that “*he had not for many moons eaten any thing with so good an appetite!*” The head of PHILIP was detached from his body and sent (by Capt. CHURCH) to Boston, to be presented to the Governor and Council, as a valuable trophy.

The few hostile Indians that now remained within the United Colonies, conscious that if so fortunate as to evade the vigilance of the English, they must soon fall victims to the prevailing famine, fled with their families far to the westward; the English were disposed rather



to facilitate than prevent their flight: having been for a number of years engaged in a destructive and bloody war with them, they were willing that the few that remained alive should escape to a country, so far distant, that there was no probability of their returning to resume the bloody tomahawk!—impressed with this idea, and that the enemy were completely exterminated, they were about to bury the hatchet and turn their attention to agricultural pursuits, when by an express, they were informed that the natives in the eastern part of the country (Province of Maine) had unprovokedly attacked and killed a number of the English in that quarter.

To quench the flame which appeared to be enkindling in the east, the Governor despatched four companies of cavalry to the relief of the unfortunate inhabitants.—The enemy (who were of the Kennebeck and Amoscoggin tribes) first attacked with unprecedented fury the defenceless inhabitants settled on Kennebeck river, the most of whom were destroyed or dispersed by them.

On the 2d November, about 700 of the enemy attacked with their accustomed fury (accompanied by their savage yells) the inhabitants of Newchewannick, an English settlement situated a few miles from the mouth of the river Kennebeck—before they had fully accomplished their hellish purpose, they were surprised by the troops sent from Boston, between whom a most bloody engagement now ensued—the Indians, encouraged by their numbers, repelled the attack of the English in so heroic a manner, that the latter were very soon thrown into disorder and driven out of town, where they again formed faced about and in turn charged the enemy with unconquerable resolution!—the contest now became close and severe, the savages with their terrific yells dexteriously hurled their tomahawks among the English, while the latter with as much dexterity, attacked and mowed them

down with their cutlasses!—each were apparently determined on victory or death!—the English at one moment, unable to withstand the impetuosity of the savages, would give ground—at the next, the latter hard pushed by the cavalry, would fall back—thus for the space of two hours did victory appear ballancing between the two contending parties—the field of action was covered with the slain, while the adjacent woods resounded with the shrieks and groans of the wounded!—At this critical juncture the English, when on the very point of surrendering, were providentially preserved by a stratagem—in the heat of the action, Major BRADFORD despatched a company of cavalry by a circuitous route to attack the enemy in the rear, which had the most happy effect—the enemy suspecting this company a reinforcement of the English, fled in every direction, leaving the English masters of the field—thus, after two hours hard fighting, did the English obtain a victory at the expence of the lives of more than half their number!—their killed and wounded amounted to ninety-nine!—the loss of the enemy was not ascertained, it was however probably three times greater than that of the English.

The day proceeding this bloody engagement, a lieutenant with 12 men were sent by the commander to the place of action to bury their dead, when they were a few rods therefrom, unexpectedly attacked by about 100 of the enemy, who had lain in ambush—the lieutenant ordered his men to reserve their fire until they could discharge with the best effect upon the enemy, by whom they were soon surrounded and furiously attacked on all sides; the savages yelling horribly, brandished their long knives in the air, yet crimsoned with the blood of their countrymen—the brave little band however remained firm and undaunted, and as the savages approached them, each taking proper aim, discharged with so good

effect upon them, that the Indians, amazed at the instantaneous destruction of so many of their comrades, fled in every direction—the English sustained no loss.

On the 5th the enemy successfully attacked the inhabitants of the village of Casco, 30 of whom they killed and made captives of the family of a Mr. BRACKET, who on the 7th in the following manner made their escape:—the Indians on their return to their wigwams, learning that a detached party of their brethren had attacked with success and plundered the village of Arow-sick, to enjoy a share of the spoil hastened to join them, leaving the prisoners in the care of two old men and three squaws—Mr. BRACKET, whose family consisted of himself, wife, three small children and a negro lad, viewed this as a favourable opportunity to escape, to effect which, he requested the negro lad to attempt an escape by flight, which (being uncommonly active) he easily effected; the plan of Mr. BRACKET had now its desired effect, as the old men pursuing the negro, left him and his family guarded only by the three squaws, whom (being intoxicated) he soon dispatched and returned the day proceeding with his family to Casco, where the negro lad had arrived some hours before.

On the 15th the Indians attacked the dwelling houses of a Capt. BONITHON, and Maj. PHILIPS, situated on the east side of Casco river—they having seasonable notice of the hostile views of the enemy the family of the former (as a place of greater safety) had resorted to the house of the latter a few moments previous to the attack.—The savages first communicating fire to the house of Capt. BONITHON next proceeded furiously to attack the dwelling of Maj. PHILIPS, in which there were about twenty persons, by whom it was most gallantly defended—the enemy had their leader and a number of their party killed by the fire of the English—dispairing

of taking the house by assault they adopted a new plan to communicate fire thereto—they procured a carriage on which they erected a stage, in front of which was a barricador rendered bullet proof, and to which long poles were attached, nearly 20 feet in length, to the ends of which were affixed every kind of combustible, such as birch rinds, straw, pitch pine, &c.—the Indians were sheltered by the barricador from the fire of the English while they approached the walls of the house with their carriage—the English were now on the eve of despairing, when fortunately one of the wheels of the carriage being brought in contact with a rock, was turned completely round, which exposed the whole body of Indians to their fire!—this unexpected opportunity was improved with the greatest advantage by the English, who with a few rounds soon dispersed the enemy with no inconsiderable loss.

The day following the Indians attacked and set fire to the house of a Mr. WAKELY, whom with his whole family they murdered—a company of English apprized of their dangerous situation marched to their relief, but arrived too late to afford them assistance—they found the house of the unfortunate family reduced to ashes, among which they discovered their mangled bodies half consumed by fire!

The savages, emboldened by their late success, on the 20th attacked a small settlement on Piscataqua river, and succeeded in murdering a part and carrying away the remainder of the inhabitants into captivity—as an instance of their wanton barbarity, it should be here mentioned, that after tomahawking and scalping one of the unfortunate women of the above place, they bound to the dead body her little infant, in which situation it was the proceeding day discovered by the English, attempting to draw nourishment from its mother's breast!



The Governor and Council of the United Colonies, conceiving it their duty if possible to put a final stop to the ravages of the enemy in the east, and to prevent the further effusion of innocent blood, despatched Major WALLIS and Major BRADFORD, with nine companies under their command, to destroy "root and branch" the common enemy.—On the 1st December they arrived in the neighborhood of Kennebeck, near where they were informed the main body of the enemy were encamped—on the morning of the 3d, they fell in with and attacked them—the enemy, who were about 800 strong, appeared disposed to maintain their ground, they fought with all the fury of savages, and even assailed the English from the tops of lofty trees which they ascended for that purpose; they were possessed of but few fire-arms, but hurled their tomahawks with inconceivable exactness, and checked the progress of the cavalry with long spears!—victory for a long time remained doubtful—the ground being covered with snow, greatly retarded the progress of the English, who would probably have met with a defeat had not a fresh company of infantry arrived in time to change the fortune of the day—these having remained inactive as a body of reserve, the commander found himself under the necessity of calling for their aid—the enemy disheartened at the unexpected arrival of an additional force, now fled with precipitancy to the neighboring woods—but very few of them however escaped, more than 200 of them remained dead upon the field of action, and double that number mortally wounded!—the loss of the English was 55 killed, 113 wounded.—This engagement, which proved a decisive one, was of the greatest importance to the English—the great and arduous work was now completed—the few remaining Indians who inhabited the eastern country, now expressed a wish to make peace with the English, and to bury the bloody



hatchet—their request was cheerfully complied with, and they continued ever after the faithful friends of the English.

From this important period (which being the 5th day of December, 1669) ought the *peace* and *prosperity* of the now flourishing States of *New-England* to receive their date.—It was at this period that her hardy sons quit the sanguine field, and exchanged their implements of death for such as were better calculated for the tillage and cultivation of their farms.—The forests with which they were encompassed, no longer abounded with fierce and untutored savages—the war-whoop was no longer heard—the greater part of the Indians that survived the many bloody engagements, had sought peace and retirement far westward—the prisoners which the English had captured, were liberated upon condition of resorting to, and remaining with them—they proved faithful to their promise; they took possession of the country bounding on the great lakes, and in possession of which their descendants remain to the present day—a description of whose manners and customs will be found in the proceeding chapter.

We shall close this with a few remarks relative to the state and ludicrous opinions of the *Indians*, in *New-England*, when first visited by our Forefathers, and of their rapid depopulation since that period.

We cannot even hazard a conjecture respecting the Indian population of *New-England*, at the time of its first settlement by the English. Capt. SMITH, in a voyage to this coast in 1614, supposed that on the Massachusetts island, there were about 3000 Indians—all accounts agree that the sea coast and neighboring islands were thickly inhabited.

Three years before the arrival of the Plymouth colony, a very mortal sickness, supposed to have been the

plague, or perhaps the yellow-fever, raged with great violence among the Indians in the eastern parts of New-England. Whole towns were depopulated. The living were not able to bury the dead : and their bones were found lying above ground many years after. The Massachusetts Indians are said to have been reduced from 30,000 to 300 fighting men. In 1633, the small-pox swept off great numbers of the Indians in Massachusetts.

In 1763, on the island of Nantucket, in the space of four months, the Indians were reduced by a mortal sickness, from 320 to 85 souls. The hand of Providence is notable in these surprising instances of mortality among the Indians to make room for the whites. Comparatively few have perished by wars ; and the descendants of the few that were not driven to the westward by the English, waste and moulder away and in a manner unaccountable disappear.

The number of Indians in the state of Connecticut in 1774 was one thousand three hundred and sixty-three ; but their number is now doubtless much lessened. The principal part of their population in this state is at Mohegan, in the county of New-London—these are the descendants of the Mohegans, of whom frequent mention is made in the foregoing pages as being very serviceable (under the command of UNCAS) to the English, in their many engagements with the natives.—The Mohegans have ever exhibited great reverence for the descendants of their *royal Sachem*.—After the death of UNCAS, his body was conveyed (by his request) to Norwich, and there interred in the neighborhood of one of his forts—this spot was selected by him, previous to his death, and it was his dying request that the whole family of UNCAS should be there buried ; a request which has been strictly complied with by the Mohegans ; who, although the

distance is seven miles from their own burying-ground, have and continue to deposit there the descendants of their revered Sachem.

The number of Indians in Rhode-Island in 1783, was only five hundred and twenty-five. More than half of these live in Charleston, in the county of Washington.— In 1774, the number of Indians in Rhode-Island was one thousand four hundred and eighty-two; so that in nine years the decrease was nine hundred and fifty-seven.— We have not been able to ascertain the exact state of the Indian population in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. In 1784, there was a tribe of about forty Indians at Norridgewalk, in the Province of Maine, with some few other scattering remains of tribes in other parts; and a number of towns thinly inhabited round Cape Cod.

When the English first arrived in America, the Indians had no time nor places set apart for religious worship.— The first settlers in *New-England* were at great pains to introduce among them the habits of civilized life, and to instruct them in the Christian religion. A few years intercourse with the Indians induced them to establish several good and natural regulations:

The Rev. Mr. ELLIOT, of Roxbury, near Boston, who has been styled the great *Indian apostle*, with much labour, learned the Natic dialect of the Indian languages. He published an Indian grammar, and preached in Indian to several tribes, and in 1664, translated the bible and several religious books into the Indian language. He relates several pertinent queries of the Indians respecting the Christian religion. Among others, whether Jesus Christ, the mediator or interpreter, could understand prayer in the Indian language? If the father be bad and the child good, why should God in the second commandment be offended with the child? How the Indians came to differ so much from the English in the knowledge of God

and Jesus Christ, since they all sprang from one father ? Mr. ELLIOT was indefatigable in his labours, and travelled through all parts of Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, as far as Cape Cod. The colony had such a veneration for him, that in an act of the General Assembly relating to the Indians, they express themselves thus, " By the advice of the said magistrates, and of Mr. ELLIOT."

Concerning the religion of the untaught natives of *New-England*, who once held a plurality of deities, after the arrival of the English, supposed there were only three, because they saw people of three kinds of complexions, viz. English, Negroes, and themselves.

It was a notion pretty generally prevailing among them, that it was not the same God made them who made us ; but that they were created after the white people ; and it is probable they supposed their God gained some special skill, by seeing the white people made, and so made them better ; for it is certain they looked upon themselves, and their methods of living, which they say their God expressly prescribed for them, vastly preferable to the white people and their methods.

With regard to a future state of existence, many of them imagined that the *chichung*, i. e. the shadow, or what survived the body, would at death go southward, and in an unknown but curious place—would enjoy some kind of happiness, such as hunting, feasting, dancing, and the like. And what they supposed would contribute much to their happiness, was, that they should there never be weary of those entertainments.

The natives of New-England believed not only a plurality of Gods, who made and governed the several nations of the world ; but they made deities of every thing they imagined to be great, powerful, beneficial, and hurtful to mankind ; yet they conceived an Almighty Being,

whom they called KICHTAU, who at first, according to their tradition, made a man and a woman out of stone, but upon some dislike destroyed them again, and then made another couple out of a tree, from whom descended all the nations of the earth; but how they came to be scattered and dispersed into countries so remote from one another they could not tell. They believed their Supreme God to be a good being, and paid a sort of acknowledgement to him for plenty, victory and other benefits.

The immortality of the soul was universally believed among them. When good men died, they said, their souls went to KICHTAU, where they met with their friends, and enjoyed all manner of pleasures; when the wicked died, they went to KICHTAU also, but were commanded to walk away; and so wander about in restless discontent and darkness forever.



#### CHAP. IV.

#### *OF THE DIFFERENT TRIBES OF INDIANS IN- HABITING THE WESTERN COUNTRY.*



WE shall now speak of the Indians who occupy the interior of America.—They are the descendants of those who once inhabited the sea-coasts, and who were driven by the English (as mentioned in the preceding chapter) far to the westward, so that but few of their descendants are now to be found within less than two or three hundred miles of the sea: for though many of them have been instructed in the knowledge of christianity, and districts of land have been allotted them in several of the British colonies, where they have been formed into societies; yet it has been found that in proportion as



they lay by their ancient customs, and conform to the manners of civilized life, they dwindle away, either because the change is prejudicial to their constitutions, or because when settled among the English they have great opportunities of procuring spirituous liquors, of which both sexes are in general inordinately fond; very little care being ever taken to prevent those who are inclined to take advantage of them in trade, from basely intoxicating them, for that infamous purpose : this has a powerful effect on their constitutions, and soon proves fatal, producing diseases to which they were formerly strangers. Thus where a few years ago there were considerable settlements of them, their name is almost forgotten; and those who still remain, have for the most part, joined themselves to other nations in the interior part of the country, on the banks of the lakes and rivers.

The Indians in Canada, and to the south of it, are tall and straight beyond the proportion of most other nations, their bodies are strong, but it has been observed that this is a strength rather suited to endure the exercise of the chase, than much hard labour, by which they are soon consumed; they have generally supple limbs, and the smallest degree of deformity is very rarely seen amongst them. Their features are regular, their complexion somewhat of a copper color, or a reddish brown; their hair, which is long, black, and lank, is as strong as that of a horse. They carefully eradicate the hair from every part of the body except the head, and there they confine it to a tuft at the top; whence an erroneous idea has much prevailed, that the men of this country are naturally destitute of beards; but it is unquestionable that it is only an artificial deprivation.

They generally wear only a blanket wrapped about them, or a shirt, both of which they purchase of the English traders: when the Europeans first came among them

they found some nations entirely naked, and others with a coarse cotton cloth, wove by themselves, round their waist; but in the northern parts their whole bodies were in winter covered with skins.

The *Huran* Indians possess a very pleasant and fertile country on the eastern side of the lake which bears the same name. Half a century ago they were very numerous, and could raise six or seven hundred warriors, but they have suffered greatly from the attacks of neighboring tribes. They differ in their manners from any of the Indian tribes by which they are surrounded. They build regular houses which they cover with bark, and are considered as the most wealthy Indians on the continent, having not only many horses, but some black cattle and swine. They likewise raise much corn, so that after providing for their own wants, they are enabled to barter the remainder with other tribes. Their country extends one hundred and fifty miles eastward of the lake, but is narrower in the contrary direction: the soil is not exceeded by any in this part of the world: the timber is tall and beautiful, the woods abound with game, and abundance of fish may be obtained from the rivers and lakes; so that if it was well cultivated, the land would equal that on any part of the sea coast of North-America. A missionary of the order of Carthusian friars, by permission of the bishop of Canada, resides among them.

Those tribes of Indians which inhabit the banks of lakes Champlain, George, and Ontario, were formerly called *Iroquois*, but have since been known by the name of "the five Mohawk nations;" and "the Mohawks of Canada;" the former are called Onondagoes, Oniades, Senecas, Tuscaavies, and Troondock; these fought on the side of the English in the contest for territory with France; the Cohnawahgans and St. Francis Indians joined the French.

The knowledge which we have of the Indians further to the S. W. as far as beyond 42° N. latitude, is chiefly obtained from the very worthy provincial officer Major CARVER, who travelled into those parts, in the year 1766, and whose placid manners and artless sincerity could not fail of recommending him to men whom nature alone had instructed. He visited twelve nations of Indians, among which the following appear to be the most considerable: the Chipeway, who dwell to the southward of lake Superior, and the Ottawaws; the Winnebagoes to the W. of lake Michigan, who with the Saukies, and Ojigambies occupy the whole extent of country from the lake to the Mississippi, below 42° N. latitude, where the Ousconsin river discharges itself. The Nadowesse, the most numerous and extended Indian nation, inhabit the country on the W. of the Mississippi, on the borders of Louisiana.

The Indians in general are strangers to the passion of jealousy; and the most profligate of their young men very rarely attempt the virtue of married woman, nor do such often put themselves in the way of solicitation, although the Indian women, in general, are armorous, and, before marriage, not less esteemed for gratifying their passions.—It appears to have been a very prevalent custom with the Indians of this country, before they became acquainted with the Europeans, to compliment strangers with their wives; and the custom still prevails, not only among the lower rank, but, even among the chiefs themselves, who consider such an offer as the greatest proof of courtesy they can give a stranger.

The men are remarkable for their indolence, on which they even seem to value themselves; saying that labour would degrade them, and belongs solely to the women, while they are formed only for war, hunting and fishing; it is, however, their business to make arms for hunting

and lines for fishing ; to form their canoes, and build their houses ; but they frequently make the women assist them in these, besides attending to all domestic affairs, and cultivating the land. They have a method of lighting up their huts with torches, made of the splinters cut from the pine or birch tree.

The Indians have generally astonishing patience and equanimity of mind, with the command of every passion except revenge. They bear the most sudden and unexpected misfortune with calmness and composure, without uttering a word, or the least change of countenance. Even a prisoner, who knows not whether he may not in a few hours be put to the most cruel death, seems entirely unconcerned, and eats and drinks with as much cheerfulness as those into whose hands he has fallen. Their resolution and courage under sickness and pain, is really astonishing. Even when under the shocking torture to which prisoners are frequently exposed, they will not only make themselves cheerful, but provoke and irritate their tormentors by most severe reproaches.

They are grave in their deportment upon serious occasions, observant of those in company, respectful to the old ; of a temper cool and deliberate, by which they are never in haste to speak before they have well thought of the matter, and sure that the person who spoke before them has finished all that he had to say. In their public councils, every man is heard in his turn, according as his years, his wisdom, or his services to his country, have ranked him. Not a whisper, nor a murmur is heard from the rest, while he speaks ; no indecent commendations, no ill timed applause. The young attend for their instruction ; for here they learn the history of their nation, are animated by those who celebrate the warlike actions of their ancestors ; are taught what is



the interest of their country, and how to cultivate and pursue it.

Hospitality is exercised among them with the utmost generosity and good will. Their houses, their provisions, even their young women, are presented to a guest. To those of their own nation they are likewise very humane and beneficent. If any of them succeed ill in hunting, if his harvest fails, or his house is burnt, he feels no other effect of his misfortune, than its giving him an opportunity of experiencing the benevolence and regard of his countrymen, who, for that purpose, have almost every thing in common. But to the enemies of his country, or to those who have privately offended him, the native American is implacable. He never indeed makes use of oaths, or indecent expressions, but cruelly conceals his sentiments, till by treachery or surprise he can gratify his revenge. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment; no distance of place is great enough to protect the object; he crosses the steepest mountains, pierces impervious forests, and traverses the most hideous deserts; bearing the inclemency of the seasons, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirst, with patience and cheerfulness, in hopes of surprising his enemy, and exercising upon him the most shocking barbarities. When these cannot be effected, the revenge is left as a legacy, transferred from generation to generation from father to son, till an opportunity offers of taking what they think ample satisfaction. To such extremes do the Indians push their friend-ship, or their enmity; and such indeed is, in general, the character of all uncivilized nations. They, however, esteem nothing so unworthy a man of sense, as a peevish temper, and a proneness to a sudden and rash anger.

On the other hand, they are highly sensible of the utility



ity and pleasures of friendship; for each of them, at a certain age, makes choice of some one nearly of the same standing in life to be their most intimate and bosom friend; these two enter into mutual engagements, by which they oblige themselves to brave any danger and run any risque, to assist and support each other. This attachment is even carried so far as to overcome the fear of death, which they consider only as a temporary separation, being persuaded that they shall meet and be united in friendship in the other world, never to be separated more; and that there they shall need one another's assistance as well as here.

It does not appear that there is any Indian nation that has not some sense of a deity, and a kind of superstitious religion. Their ideas of the nature and attributes of God are very obscure, and some of them absurd, though they conceive of him as the Great Spirit, and imagine that his more immediate residence is on the islands of the great lakes. They seem to have some idea that there are spirits of a higher and more excellent nature than man; and supposing them to be every where present, frequently invoke them, and endeavor to act agreeable to their desires. They likewise imagine that there is an evil spirit, who they say is always inclined to mischief, and bears great sway in the creation; this indeed is the principal object of their devotions; they generally address him most heartily, beseeching him to do them no harm: but supposing the others to be propitious, and ever inclined to do good, they intreat those spirits to bestow blessings upon them and prevent the evil spirit from hurting them. Major CARVER relates that one of the most considerable chiefs among the Ottawaws with whom he remained a night, on attending him to his canoe the next morning, with great solemnity, and in an audible voice offered up a fervent prayer, as he entered his canoe,

“ that the Great Spirit would favor him with a prosperous voyage ; that he would give him an unclouded sky, and smooth waters by day, and that he might lie down by night on a beaver blanket, enjoying uninterrupted sleep and pleasant dreams ; and also that he might find continual security under the great pipe of peace.” To procure the protection of the good spirit, they imagine it necessary to distinguish themselves, and that they must above all other attainments, become good warriors, expert hunters, and steady marksmen.

Their priests often persuade the people that they have revelations of future events, and are authorised to command them to pursue such and such measures. They also undertake to unfold the mysteries of religion, and to solve and interpret all their dreams. They represent the other world as a place abounding with an inexhaustible plenty of every thing desirable, where they shall enjoy the most full and exquisite gratification of all their senses.— This is doubtless the motive that induces the Indians to meet death with such indifference and composure ; none of them being in the least dismayed at the news that he has but a few hours or minutes to live, but with the greatest intrepidity sees himself upon the brink of being separated from all terrestrial things, and with great serenity talks to all around him : thus a father leaves his dying advice to his children, and takes a formal leave of all his friends.

They testify great indifference for the productions of art ; when any curious piece of mechanism is shown them, they say, “ It is pretty, I like to look at it,” but express no curiosity about its construction. Such however is not their behavior when they are told of a person who distinguishes himself by agility in running ; is well skilled in hunting ; can take a most exact aim ; work a canoe along a rapid with great dexterity ; is skilled in all the

arts which their stealthy mode of carrying on a war is capable of; or is acute in discovering the situation of a country, and can, without a guide pursue his proper course through a vast forest, and support hunger, thirst, and fatigue with invincible firmness; at such a relation their attention is aroused; they listen to the interesting tale with delight, and express in the strongest terms their esteem for so great so wonderful a man.

They generally bury their dead with great decency, and deposit in the grave such articles as the deceased had made the greatest use of and been most attached to; as his bow and arrows, pipes, tobacco, &c. that he may not be in want of any thing when he comes to the other country. The mothers mourn for their children a long time, and the neighbours make presents to the father: and he in return gives them a feast.

Every band has a leader who bears the title of *Sachem* or chief warrior, and is chosen for his tried valor and skill in conducting war; to him is entrusted all military operation, but his authority does not extend to civil affairs, the pre-eminence there being given to another, who possesses it by a kind of hereditary claim, and whose assent is necessary to render valid all conveyances of land, or treaties of whatever kind, to which he affixes the mark of the tribe or nation. Though these military and civil chiefs are considered as the heads of the band, and the latter is usually styled king, yet the American Indians consider themselves as controlled by neither civil or military authority: every individual regards himself as free and independent, and would never renounce the idea of liberty; therefore injunctions conveyed in the style of a positive command, would be disregarded and treated with contempt. Nor do their leaders assume an ascendancy repugnant to these sentiments, but merely advise what is necessary to be done, which is sufficient to produce the

most prompt and effectual execution, never producing a murmur.

Their great council is composed of the heads of tribes and families, with such whose capacity has raised them to the same degree of consideration. They meet in a house, built in each of their towns for that purpose, and also receive ambassadors, to deliver them an answer, to sing their traditionary songs, or to commemorate the dead. In these councils they propose all such matters as concern the state, and which have been already digested in the secret councils, at which none but the head men assist. The chiefs seldom speak much themselves at these general meetings, but entrust their sentiments with a person who is called their speaker, or orator, their being one of this profession in every tribe or town ; and their manner of speaking is natural and easy, their words strong and expressive, their style bold, figurative, and laconic, whatever is told tending either to form the judgment or rouse the passions.

When any business of consequence is transacted, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partakes. Before the entertainment is ready, the principal person begins a song on the remarkable events of their history, and whatever may tend to their honour or instruction. The others sing in their turn. They also have dances, chiefly of a martial kind ; and no solemnity or public business is carried on without songs and dances.

As the Indians are high spirited and soon irritated, the most trifling provocations frequently rouse them to arms, and prove the occasions of bloodshed and murder.—Their petty private quarrels are often decided this way, and expeditions undertaken without the knowledge or consent of a general council. These private expeditions are winked at, and excused, as a means of keeping their



young men in action, and inuring them to the exercises of war.

But when war becomes a national affair, it is entered upon with great deliberation. They first call an assembly of the sachems or chief warriors, to deliberate upon the affair, and every thing relating to it. In this general congress among the northern Indians and the Five Nations, the women have a voice as well as the men. When they are assembled, the chief sachem or president, proposes the affair they have met to consult upon, and taking up the tomahawk, which lies by him, says "Who among you will go and fight against such a nation? Who among you will bring captives from thence to replace our deceased friends, that our wrongs may be revenged, and our name and our honour maintained, as long as the rivers flow, the grass grows, or the sun and moon shall endure?" Then one of the principal warriors rising, harrangues the whole assembly, and afterward, addressing himself to the young men, enquires who among them will go along with him, and fight their enemies? When they generally rise, one after another, and fall in behind him, while he walks round the circle, till he is joined by a sufficient number.

On such occasions they have usually a deer, or some other beast roasted whole; and each of them, as they consent to go to war, cuts off a piece and eats, saying "Thus will I devour our enemies," mentioning the nation they are going to attack. The ceremony being performed, the dance begins, and they sing the war song, which has relation to their intended expedition and conquest, or to their own skill, courage, and dexterity in fighting, and the manner in which they will vanquish their enemies. Their expressions are strong and pathetic, attended with a tone that inspires terror.

Such is the influence of their women in these consul-



tations, that the issue depends much upon them. If any one of them in conjunction with the chiefs, has a mind to excite one, who does not immediately depend upon them, to take a part in the war, she presents, by the hands of some trusty young warrior, a string of wampum, to the person whose help she solicits, which seldom fails of producing the effect. But when they solicit an offensive or defensive alliance with a whole nation, they send an embassy with a large belt of wampum and a bloody hatchet, enviting them to come and drink the blood of their enemies.

The wampum used on these and other occasions before their acquaintance with Europeans, was only small shells, which they picked up by the sea coasts, and on the banks of the lakes. It now consists principally of a kind of cylindrical beads, made of white and black shells, which are esteemed among them as silver and gold are among us. The black they think the most valuable ; both of them are their greatest riches and ornaments, answering all the ends of money among us. They have the art of stringing, twisting, and interweaving them into their belts, collars, blankets, &c. in ten thousand different sizes, forms, and figures, so as not only to be ornaments for every part of dress, but expressive of all their important transactions. They die the wampum of various colours and shades ; and as they are made significant of almost any thing they please, by these their records are kept, and their thoughts communicated to one another, as ours are by writing. Thus the belts that pass from one nation to another, in all important transactions, are carefully preserved in the cabin of their chiefs, and serve both as a kind of record or history, and as a public treasure ; hence they are never used on trifling occasions.

The calmut, or pipe of peace, is of no less impor-

tance, nor is it less revered among them: The bowl of this pipe is made of a kind of soft red stone, easily wrought and hollowed out; the stem is of cane, or a kind of light wood, painted with different colors, and adorned with the heads, tails, and feathers, of the most beautiful birds, &c. The use of the calmut, is to smoke either tobacco or some other herb used instead of it, when they enter into an alliance or any solemn engagement; this being esteemed the most sacred oath that can be taken, the violation of which is thought to be most infamous, and deserving severe punishment in the other life. When they treat of war, the whole pipe and all its ornaments are red; sometimes it is red only on one side, and by the disposition of the feathers &c. a person acquainted with their customs, knows at first sight the intentions or desires of the nation who presents it. Smoking the calmut is also upon some occasions and in all treaties considered as a sacred oath, as a seal of their decrees, and a pledge of their performance of them. The size and decorations of their calmuts are commonly proportioned to the importance of the occasion, to the quality of the persons to whom they are presented, and to the esteem and regard they have for them.

Another instrument of great importance among them is the tomahawk. This is an ancient weapon, used by them in war, before they were taught the use of iron or steel, since which hatchets have been substituted in the room of them, but still it retains its use and importance in public transactions: and like a pipe, is frequently very significant. This instrument is formed in some respects like a hatchet, having a long handle; the head, which is a round knob of solid wood calculated to knock a man down, has on the other side a point, bending a little toward the handle; and near the centre where the handle pierces the head another point projects forward, of a con-

siderable length, which serves to thrust with like a spear. The tomahawk is also ornamented with painting and feathers, disposed and variegated in many significant forms according to the occasion and end for which they are used; and on it is kept a kind of journal of their marches and most important occurrences, in a sort of hieroglyphics. When the council is called to deliberate on war, the tomahawk is colored red; and when the council sits it is laid down by the chief, and if war be concluded upon, the captain of the young warriors takes it up, and holding it in his hand, dances and sings the war-song. When the council is over, this or some other of the same kind, is sent by the hands of the same warrior to every tribe concerned; who with it presents a belt of wampum, and delivers his message, throwing the tomahawk on the ground, which is taken up by one of the most expert warriors, if they choose to join; if not, it is returned with a belt of their wampum suited to the occasion.

Each nation or tribe has its distinct ensigns, generally consisting of some beast, bird, or fish. Thus the Five Nations have the bear, otter, wolfe, tortoise, and eagle; by these names the tribes are generally distinguished, and the shapes of these animals are pricked and painted on several parts of their bodies. Generally, when they march through the woods, they at every encampment, cut the figure of their arms on the trees, especially when they have had a successful campaign, that travellers may know that they have been there; recording also in their way the number of prisoners and scalps they have taken.

Their military appearance is very odd and terrible.— They cut off all their hair, except a spot on the crown of their head, and pluck out their eye-brows. The lock left upon the head is divided into several parcels, each of which is stiffened, and intermixed with beads and feath-

ers of various shapes and colours, the whole twisted and connected together. They paint themselves with a red pigment down the eyebrows, which they sprinkle over with white down. The gristle of their ears are slit almost quite round, and hung with ornaments that have generally the figure of some bird or beast drawn upon them. Their noses are likewise bored and hung with beads, and their faces painted with various colors. On their breasts are a gorget or medal of brass, copper, or some other metal; and by a string which goes round their necks, is suspended that horrid weapon called the scalping knife.

Thus equipped, they march forth, singing their war-song, till they lose sight of their village; and are generally followed by their women, who assist them in carrying their baggage, whether by land or water, but commonly return before they proceed to action.

They have generally one commander for every ten men; and if the number amounts to one hundred, a general is appointed over the others, not properly to command, but to give his opinion. They have no stated rules of discipline, or fixed methods of carrying on a war; but make their attacks in as many different ways as there are occasions, but generally in flying parties, equipped for that purpose.

The weapons used by those who trade with the English and French, are commonly a firelock, hatchet, and a scalping-knife; but the others use bows, tomahawks and pikes. As the commander in chief governs only by advice, and can neither reward nor punish, every private may return home when he pleases without assigning any reason for it; or any number may leave the main body, and carry on a private expedition, in whatever manner they please, without being called to account for their conduct.

When the Indians return from a successful campaign, they contrive their march so as not to approach their village till toward the evening. They then send two or three forward to acquaint their chief, and the whole village, with the most material circumstances of their campaign. At day-light next morning, they give their prisoners new clothes, paint their faces with various colors, and put into their hand a white staff, tasselled round with the tails of deer. This being done, the war-captain sets up a cry, and gives as many yells as he has taken prisoners and scalps, and the whole village assemble at the water side. As soon as the warriors appear four or five of their young men, well clothed, get into a canoe, if they come by water, or otherwise march by land : the two first carrying each a calmut, go out singing to search the prisoners, whom they lead in triumph to the cabin where they are to receive their doom. The owner of this cabin has the power of determining their fate, though it is often left to some woman who has lost her husband, brother, or son in the war ; and when this is the case, she generally adopts him into the place of the deceased. The prisoner has victuals immediately given him and while he is at this repast, a consultation is held ; and if it be resolved to save his life, two young men untie him, and taking him by the hands, lead him to the cabin of the person into whose family he is to be adopted, and there he is received with all imaginable marks of kindness. He is treated as a friend, as a brother, or as a husband, and they soon love him with the same tenderness as if he stood in the place of one of their friends. In short, he has no other marks of captivity, but his not being suffered to return to his own nation, for his attempting this would be punished with certain death.

But if the sentence be death, how different their conduct ! these people, who behave with such disinterested



affection to each other, with such tenderness to those whom they adopt, here shew that they are truly savages ; the dreadful sentence is no sooner passed, than the whole village set up the death-cry ; and, as if there were no medium between the most generous friendship and the most inhuman cruelty ; for the execution of him whom they had just before deliberated upon admitting into their tribe is no longer deferred, than whilst they can make the necessary preparations for rioting in the most diabolical cruelty. They first strip him, and fixing two posts in the ground, fasten to them two pieces from one to the other ; one about two feet from the ground, the other about five or six feet higher : then obliging the unhappy victim to mount upon the lower cross piece, they tie his legs to it a little asunder : his hands are extended and tied to the angles formed by the upper piece. In this posture they burn him all over the body, sometimes first daubing him with pitch. The whole village, men, women, and children, assemble round him, every one torturing him in what manner they please, each striving to exceed the other in cruelty, as long as he has life. But if none of the bye standers are inclined to lengthen out his torments, he is either shot to death, or inclosed with dry bark, to which they set fire ; they then leave him on the frame, and in the evening run from cabin to cabin, superstitiously striking with small twigs, the furniture, walls, and roofs, to prevent his spirit from remaining there to take vengeance for the evils committed on his body. The remainder of the day and the night following is spent in rejoicing.

This is the most usual method of murdering their prisoners ; but sometimes they fasten them to a single stake, and build a fire around them ; at other times they cruelly mangle their limbs, cut off their fingers and toes joint by joint, and sometimes scald them to death.

What is the most extraordinary, if the sufferer be an Indian, there seems during the whole time of his execution, a contest between him and his tormentors, which shall outdo the other, they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them : not a groan, not a sigh, not a distortion of countenance escapes him in the midst of his torments. It is even said, that he recounts his own exploits, informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens with the revenge that will attend his death : that he even reproaches them for their ignorance of the art of tormenting ; points out methods of more exquisite torture, and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted.

The scalps, those dreadful proofs of the barbarity of these Indians, are valued, and hung up in their houses as the trophies of their bravery ; and they have certain days when the young men gain a new name or title of honor, according to the qualities of the persons to whom these scalps belonged. This name they think a sufficient reward for the dangers and fatigues of many campaigns, as it renders them respected by their countrymen, and terrible to their enemies.

In the late American revolution, Britain had the inhumanity to reward these sons of barbarity for depredations committed upon those who were struggling in the cause of liberty !—It was through their instigation that the hatchets of the Indians were made drunk with American blood !—the widow's wail, the virgin's shriek, and infant's trembling cry, was music in their ears. In cold blood they struck their cruel tomahawks into the defenceless head of a Miss M'KRAY, a beautiful girl, who was that very day to have been married !—the particulars of the inhuman transaction were as follows :—Previous to the late war between America and Great-Britain, a British officer by the name of JONES, an accomplished young man, re-

sided near Fort Edward—his visits thither became more frequent, when he found himself irresistibly drawn by charms of native worth and beauty. Miss M'KRAY, whose memory is dear to humanity and true affection, was the object of his peregrinations.

Mr. JONES had not taken the precautions necessary in hazardous love, but had manifested to the lady by his constant attention, undissembled and ingenious demeanor, that ardent affection, which a susceptible heart compelled her implicitly to return. In this mutual interchange of passions, they suffered themselves to be transported on the ocean of imagination, till the unwelcome necessity of a separation cut off every springing hope. The war between Great Britain and America commenced—a removal from this happy spot was in consequence suggested to Mr. JONES, as indispensable. Nothing could alleviate their mutual horror, but duty—nothing could allay their reciprocal grief, so as to render a separate corporeal existence tolerable, but solemn vows, with the ideas of a future meeting. Mr. JONES repaired to Canada, where all intercourse with the Provincials was prohibited. Despair, which presented itself in aggravated colours when Gen. BURGOYNE's expedition through the States was fixed, succeeded to his former hopes.—The British army being encamped about three miles from the Fort, a descent was daily projecting. Here Mr. JONES could not but recognize the spot, on which rested all his joys. He figured to his mind the dread, which his hostile approach must raise in the breast of her, whom of all others, he thought it is highest interest to protect. In spite of arretries and commands to the contrary, he found means secretly to convey a letter, intreating her not to leave the town with the family, assuring her, that as soon as the fort should have surrendered, he would convey her to an asylum,

where they might peaceably consummate the nuptial ceremony. Far from discrediting the sincerity of him who could not deceive her, she heroically refused to follow the flying villagers. The remonstrances of a father, or the tearful intreaties of a mother and numerous friends could not avail ! It was enough that her lover was her friend—she considered herself protected by the love and voluntary assurances of her youthful hero. With the society of a servant maid, she impatiently waited the desired conveyance. Mr. JONES finding the difficulty into which he was brought, at length, for want of better convoy, hired a party of twelve Indians, to carry a letter to Miss M'KRAY, with his own horse, for the purpose of carrying her to the place appointed. They set off, fired with the anticipation of their promised premium, which was to consist of a quantity of spirits, on condition that they brought her off in safety, which, to an Indian, was the most cogent stimulus the young lover could have named. Having arrived in view of her window, they sagaciously held up the letter, to prevent the fears and apprehensions which a savage knows he must excite, in the sight of tenderness and sensibility. Her faith and expectations enabled her to divine the business of these ferocious missionaries, while her frightened maid uttered nought but shrieks and cries. They arrived, and by their signs convinced her from whom they had their instructions. If a doubt could remain, it was removed by the letter—it was from her lover. A lock of his hair, which it contained, presented his manly figure to her glowing fancy.

Here, reader, guess what must have been her ecstasy.—She resolved to brave even the most horrid aspect, which might appear between her and him, whom she considered already hers, without a sigh—she did not for a moment hesitate to follow the wishes of her lover ; and

took journey with these bloody messengers, expecting very soon to be shielded in the arms of legitimate affection. A short distance only then seemed to separate two of the happiest of mortals.—Alas! how soon are the most brilliant pictures of felicity defaced by the burning hand of affliction and wo! How swiftly are the halcyon dreams, which lull the supine indolence of thought, succeeded by the real pangs which are inflicted by a punishing providence or a persecuting foe!

Having risen the hill, at about equal distances from the camp and her former home, a second party of Indians having heard of the captivating offer made by Mr. JONES, determined to avail themselves of the opportunity. The reward was the great object. A clashing of real and assumed rights was soon followed by a furious and bloody engagement, in which several were killed on each side. The commander of the first party, perceiving that nought but the lady's death could appease the fury of either, deliberately knocked her from her horse, mangling her scalp from her beautiful temples, which he exultingly bore as a trophy of his zeal to the expectant and anxious lover! Here, O disappointment, was thy sting! It was with the greatest difficulty that Mr. JONES could be kept from total delirium. His horror and indignation could not be appeased; his remorse for having risked his most valuable treasure in the hands of savages! drove him almost to madness. When the particulars of the melancholy event reached Gen. BURGOYNE, he ordered the survivors of both these parties to immediate execution.



CHAP. V.

WASHINGTON'S EXPEDITION,

IN 1753—AND

DEFEAT OF GENERAL BRADDOCK,

By THE INDIANS, in 1755.

IN 1753, the French and Indians began to make inroads on our western frontiers along the Ohio. Governor DINWIDDIE, of Virginia, was very desirous to get a letter of remonstrance to their commander in chief.—He had applied to several young gentlemen of his acquaintance, but they were all so deficient in courage that they could not be prevailed on for love or money, to venture out among the savages. Our beloved WASHINGTON happening to hear of it, instantly waited on his excellency, and offered his services, but not without being terribly afraid lest his want of a beard should go against him. However, the Governor was so charmed with his modesty and manly air, that he never asked him a syllable about his age, but after thanking him for “*a noble youth,*” and insisting on his taking a glass of wine with him, slipped a commission into his hand. The next day, accompanied by an interpreter and a couple of servants, he set out on his expedition, which was, from start to pole, as disagreeable and dangerous as any thing Hercules himself could have wished. Soaking rains, chilling blasts, roaring floods, pathless woods, and mountains clad in snows, opposed his course; but opposed in vain. The glorious ambition to serve his country imparted an animation to his nerves, which rendered him superior to all difficulties.

Returning homewards, he was waylaid and shot at by a French Indian, and though the copper-colored ruffian was not 15 steps distant when he fired at him, yet not

even so much as the smell of lead passed on the clothes of our young hero. On his return to Virginia, it was found that he had executed his negotiations, both with the French and Indians, with such fidelity and judgment, that he received the heartiest thanks of the Governor and Council for the very important services he had done his country.

He was now (in the 20th year of his age) appointed major and adjutant-general of the Virginia forces. Soon after this, the Indians continuing the encroachments, orders were given by the English government, for the colonies to arm and unite in one confederacy. Virginia took the lead, and raised a regiment of four hundred men, at the head of which she placed her darling WASHINGTON.

With this handful of brave fellows, Col. WASHINGTON, not yet 23 years of age, boldly pushed out into the Indian country, and there for a considerable time, Hannibal-like, maintained the war against three times the number of French and Indians. At the Red-Stones he came up with a strong party of the enemy, whom he engaged and effectually defeated, after having killed and taken thirty-one men. From his prisoners he obtained undoubted intelligence, that the French forces on the Ohio consisted of upwards of a thousand regulars and many hundreds of Indians. But notwithstanding this disheartening advice, he still pressed on undauntedly against the enemy, and at a place called the Little Meadows, built a fort, which he called Fort Necessity. Here he waited, hourly and anxiously looking for succours from New-York and Pennsylvania; but he looked in vain—nobody came to his assistance. Not long after this his small force, now reduced to three hundred men, was attacked by an army of 1100 French and Indians. Never did the true Virginian valor shine more gloriously than on this trying occasion.

To see three hundred young fellows—commanded by a

smooth-faced boy—all unaccustomed to the terrors of war—far from home, and from all hopes of help—shut up in a dreary wilderness, and surrounded by four times their number of savage foes, and yet, without sign of fear, without thought of surrender, preparing for mortal combat. Oh! it was a noble sight!—Scarcely since the days of Leonidas and his three hundred deathless Spartans, had the sun beheld its equal. With hideous whoops and yells the enemy came on like a host of tygers. The woods, and rocks, and tall tree tops (as the Indians climbing to the tops of the trees, poured down their bullets into the fort) were in one continued blaze and crash of fire-arms. Nor were our young warriors idle, but, animated by their gallant chief, plied their rifles with such spirit, that their little fort resembled a volcano in full blast, roaring and discharging thick sheets of liquid fire and of leaden deaths among their foes. For three glorious hours, Salamander like, enveloped in smoke and flame, they sustained the attack of the enemy's whole force, and laid two hundred of them dead on the spot!—Discouraged by such desperate resistance, the French general, the Count de VILLIERS sent in a flag to WASHINGTON, extolling his gallantry to the skies, and offering him the most honorable terms. It was stipulated that Col. WASHINGTON and his little band of heroes, should march away with all the honors of war, and carry with them their military stores and baggage.

In the Spring of 1755, WASHINGTON, while busied in the highest military operations, was summoned to attend Gen. BRADDOCK, who in the month of February, arrived at Alexandria, with 2000 British troops. The Assembly of Virginia appointed 800 provincials to join him. The object of this army was to march through the country, by the way of Will's Creek, to fort Du Quesne (now Pittsburgh or Fort Pitt.) As no person was so well ac-

quainted with the frontier country as WASHINGTON, and none stood so high in military fame, it was thought he would be infinitely serviceable to general BRADDOCK. At the request of the Governor and Council he cheerfully quitted his own command, to act as volunteer aid-de-camp to that very imprudent and unfortunate general.—The army, near 3000 strong, marched from Alexandria and proceeded unmolested within a few miles of Fort Pitt. On the morning of the day in which they expected to arrive, the provincial scouts discovered a large party of French and Indians lying in ambush. WASHINGTON, with his usual modesty, observed to Gen. BRADDOCK what sort of enemy he had now to deal with. An enemy who would not, like the Europeans, come forward to a fair contest in the field, but, concealed behind rocks and trees carry on a deadly warfare with their rifles. He concluded with begging that Gen. BRADDOCK would grant him the honor to let him place himself at the head of the Virginia riflemen, and fight them in their own way.—And it was generally thought that our young hero and his 800 hearts of hickory, would very easily have beaten them too, for they were not superior to the force, which, (with only three hundred) he had handled so roughly a twelve month before. But Gen. BRADDOCK, who had all along treated the American officers and soldiers with infinite contempt, instead of following this truly salutary advice, swelled and reddened with most unmanly rage.—“High times, by G—d!” he exclaimed, strutting to and fro, with arms a kimbo, “High times! when a young buckskin can teach a British general how to fight!”—WASHINGTON withdrew, biting his lips with grief and indignation, to think what numbers of brave fellows would draw short breath that day, through the pride and obstinacy of one epauletted fool. The troops were ordered to *form* and advance in *columns* through the woods!!!—

In a little time the ruin which WASHINGTON had predicted ensued. This poor devoted army, pushed on by their mad-cap general, fell into the fatal snare which was laid for them. All at once a thousand rifles began the work of death. The ground was instantly covered with the dying and the dead. The British troops, thus slaughtered by hundreds, and by an enemy whom they could not see, were thrown irrecoverably into panic and confusion, and in a few minutes their haughty general with 1200 of his brave but unfortunate countrymen, hit the ground. Poor BRADDOCK closed the tragedy with great decency. He was mortally wounded in the beginning of the action, and WASHINGTON had him placed in a cart ready for retreat. Close on the left, where the weight of the French and Indian fire principally fell, WASHINGTON and his Virginia riflemen, dressed in blue, sustained the shock. At every discharge of their rifles the wounded general cried out, "*O my brave Virginia blues ! Would to God I could but live to reward you for such gallantry.*" But he died. WASHINGTON buried him in the road, and to save him from discovery and the scalping knife, ordered the waggons on their retreat to drive over his grave !—O God ! what is man ? Even a thing of nought !

Amidst all this fearful consternation and carnage, amidst all the uproar and horrors of a rout, rendered still more dreadful by the groans of the dying, the screams of the wounded, the piercing shrieks of the women, and the yells of the furious assaulting savages, WASHINGTON, calm and self-collected, rallied his faithful riflemen, led them on to the charge, killed numbers of the enemy who were rushing on with tomahawks, checked their pursuit, and brought off the shattered remains of the British army.

With respect to our beloved WASHINGTON, I cannot but mention here two very extraordinary speeches that



were uttered about him at this time, and which, as things have turned out, look a good deal like prophecies. A famous Indian warrior who assisted in the defeat of BRADDOCK, was often heard to swear that WASHINGTON *was not born to be killed by a bullet*, “*for*,” continued he, “*I had 17 fair fires at him with my rifle, and, after all, I could not bring him to the ground.*”—And, indeed, whoever considers that a good rifle, levelled by a proper marksman, hardly ever misses its aim, will readily enough conclude with this unlettered savage, that some invisible hand must have turned aside his bullets.

The Rev. Mr. DAVIES, in a sermon occasioned by Gen. BRADDOCK’s defeat, has these remarkable words—“*I beg leave to point the attention of the public to that heroic youth, Col. GEORGE WASHINGTON, whom I cannot but hope providence has preserved for some great service to this country.*”



## CHAP. VI.

### EXPEDITION AND DEFEAT OF GEN. HARMER, BY THE INDIANS, 1790.



ALTHOUGH a peace was happily effected between the two contending parties, Great Britain and America, in 1783, yet the Savages, who had been persuaded to take a part with the former were unwilling to bury the bloody hatchet—they had not sufficiently bathed that destructive weapon in the blood of the Americans—without any pretext whatever, they continued to exercise toward them the most wanton acts of barbarity. It appeared from respectable evidence, that from the year 1783, until the month of October 1790, the time the United States commenced offensive operations a-

gainst the said Indians, that on the Ohio, and the frontiers on the south-side thereof, they killed, wounded and took prisoners, about one thousand five hundred men, women and children, besides carrying off upwards of two thousand horses, and other property to the amount of fifty thousand dollars.

The particulars of many of the instances of barbarity exercised upon the prisoners, of different ages, and sexes, although supported by indisputable evidence, are of too shocking a nature to be presented to the public—but, in justification of the Americans in the commencement of hostilities with this unprincipled race of beings, the particulars of some few instances of their unprovoked cruelties, may be found contained in an appendix, subjoined to this work—it is sufficient here to observe, that the scalping knife and tomahawk, were the mildest instruments of death. That in some cases torture by fire, and other execrable means were used.

But the outrages which were committed upon the frontier inhabitants, were not the only injuries that were sustained; repeated attacks upon detachments of the troops of the United States, were at different times made. The following from its peculiar enormity deserves recital.—In April 1790, Maj. DOUGHTY (in service of the United States) was ordered to the friendly Chicasaws on public business. He performed this duty in a boat, having with him a party of fifteen men. While ascending the Tennessee river, he was met by a party of forty Indians, in four canoes, consisting principally of Shawanese and out-cast Cherokees.—They approached under a white flag, the well known emblem of peace. They came on board the Major's boat, received his presents, continued with him nearly an hour, and then departed in the most friendly manner.—But, they had scarcely cleared his oars before they poured in a fire upon his

crew, which was returned as soon as circumstances would permit, and a most unequal combat was sustained for several hours, when they abandoned their design, but not until they had killed and wounded eleven out of fifteen of the boat's crew.

All overtures of peace failing, and the depredations still continuing, an attempt at coercion became indispensable ; accordingly, on the 30th September, 1790, the President, by and with the consent and advice of the Congress of the United States, dispatched Gen. HARMER, with 320 Federal troops and 1133 militia, under his command, to attack and destroy their principal villages.

The troops after seventeen days march from Miami, reached the great Miami village, without any other molestation than that of having a number of their pack horses stolen. On their arrival they found the village deserted, and all the valuable buildings in flames, set on fire by the Indians. After a short tarry, they proceeded to the neighbouring villages, without molestation, and destroyed five of them, and a large quantity of corn, computed at fifteen thousand bushels, which they found buried in different places ; and very large quantities of vegetables of every kind.

The first opposition that was met with, a party of about 150 Kentucky militia, and 30 regular troops, all under the command of Col. HARDING, of Kentucky, were detached from the main body lying in the great Miami village, to pursue the trail of a party of Indians, which had the day before been discovered. After a pursuit of about six miles, they came up with, and were attacked on surprize by a body of Indians, who were concealed in the thickets on every side of a large plain ; and on the first onset the militia without exchanging a single shot, made a most precipitate retreat and left the regular

troops to stand the whole charge of the Indians ; the conflict was short and bloody, the troops were soon overpowered by numbers, and all fell except two officers, and two or three privates, after defending themselves at their bayonet points, with the greatest possible obstinacy. Ensign HARTSHORN was one of the officers who providentially escaped, and his escape appeared to depend more on a lucky circumstance of faltering over a log in his retreat, and by that means screening himself from the eye of his pursuers, than from any other circumstance. Capt. ARMSTRONG, who commanded the party, likewise made his escape, by plunging himself into a pond or swamp up to his neck, within two hundred yards of the field of action, where he remained the whole night a spectator to the horrid scene of the war dance performed over the dead and wounded bodies of the poor soldiers that had fallen the preceding day ; where their shrieks, mixed with the horrid yells of the savages, rendered his situation shocking.

After this, some few skirmishes succeeded, but nothing material, until the second capital action, which happened two days after the army left the Miami village—at ten miles distance from the town, the General ordered a halt, and detached from four to five hundred militia, and about sixty regular soldiers, under the command of Major WYLLYS, and Colonel HARDING, who were ordered to march back to the town. On their first entrance there appeared a small body of Indians, who immediately fled at the first onset, and by that means decoyed the whole body of the militia, by making their flight in different directions, and encouraging the militia to pursue ; by this stratagem the few regular troops were left alone, and the Indians had effected their design, for the moment they found the small handful of regular troops detached from the main body of militia,

they commenced the attack with their whole force, excepting the flying parties that had diverted the militia ; and although they soon found some part of the militia returning on their backs, pursued their object of routing and destroying the troops, as the only sure plan of success ; which after a most bloody conflict on each side, they effected.

The regular troops all to nine, including two commissioned officers, were killed—among the slain was Major WYLLYS, and a number of brave and valuable soldiers. The Indians, it appeared, from some cause, did not think it prudent to pursue their successes from the field of action, as most of the troops that were not killed or badly wounded, made their escape, which they could not have effected had the enemy pursued with their usual fury.

Nothing could exceed the intrepidity of the savages on this occasion ; the militia they appeared to despise, and with all the undauntedness conceivable, threw down their guns, and rushed upon the bayonets of the regular soldiers ; a number of them fell, but being so far superior in numbers, the regulars were soon overpowered, for while the poor soldier had his bayonet in one Indian, two more would sink their tomahawks in his head. The defeat of the troops was complete, the dead and wounded were left on the field of action, in possession of the savages.

Return of the killed and wounded upon the expedition against the Miami towns, under the command of General HARMER :—

*Killed of the Federal Troops.*

1 Major, 1 Lieutenant, 73 rank and file—total 75.—  
Wounded—3 rank and file.

*Killed of the Militia.*

1 Major, 3 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 98 rank and file—total 108.—Wounded—2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 25 rank and file—total—28.



CHAP. VII.

EXPEDITIONS OF GENERALS SCOTT AND WILKINSON,

*IN MAR and AUGUST, 1791.*

GEN. SCOTT TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

S I R,

“ IN prosecution of the enterprise, I marched (with 850 troops under my command) four miles from the banks of the Ohio on the 23d May, and on the 24th I resumed my march, and pushed forward with the utmost industry, directing my rout to Ouiattapan, in the best manner my guides and information enabled me, though I found myself greatly deficient in both.

“ By the 31st, I had marched one hundred and thirty-five miles, over a country cut by four large branches of White River, and many smaller streams with steep muddy banks: During this march, I traversed a country alternately interspersed with the most luxuriant soil, and deep clayey bogs from one to five miles wide, rendered almost impervious by brush and briars. Rain fell in torrents every day, with frequent blasts of wind and thunder storms. These obstacles impeded my progress, wore down my horses, and destroyed my provisions.

“ On the morning of the 1st instant as the army entered an extensive prairie, I perceived an Indian on horseback a few miles to the right: I immediately made a detachment to intercept him, but he escaped. Finding myself discovered, I determined to advance with all the rapidity my circumstances would permit, rather with the hope than the expectation of reaching the object sought that day; for my guides were strangers to the country which I occupied. At 1 o'clock, having marched by

computation one hundred and fifty-five miles from the Ohio, as I penetrated a grove which bordered on an extensive prairie, I discovered two small villages to my left, at two and four miles distance.

“ My guides now recognised the ground and informed me that the main town was four or five miles in my front, behind a point of wood which jutted into the prairie. I immediately detached Col. JOHN HARDIN, with 60 mounted infantry, and a troop of light horse under Captain M'Coy, to attack the villages to the left, and moved on briskly with my main body in order of battle towards the town, the smoke from which was discernible. My guides were deceived with respect to the situation of the town; for instead of standing at the edge of the plain through which I marched, I found in the low ground bordering on the Wabash, on turning the point of woods, one house presented in my front. Capt. PRICE was ordered to assault that with forty men: He executed the command with great gallantry, and killed two warriors.

“ When I gained the summit of the eminence which overlooks the villages on the banks of the Wabash, I discovered the enemy in great confusion, endeavoring to make their escape over the river in canoes. I instantly ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant WILKINSON to rush forward with the first battalion; the order was executed with promptitude, and this detachment gained the bank of the river just as the rear of the enemy had embarked: And regardless of a brisk fire kept up from a Kickapoo town on the opposite bank, they in a few minutes, by a well directed fire from their rifles, destroyed all the savages with which five canoes were crowded.

“ The enemy still kept possession of the Kickapoo town. I determined to dislodge them, and for the purpose ordered captains KING's and LOGSDON's companies to march down the river below the town and cross under

the conduct of Major BARBEE: Several of the men swam the river, and others passed in a small canoe.— This movement was unobserved, and my men had taken post on the bank before they were discovered by the enemy who immediately abandoned the village.—About this time word was brought me that Col. HARDIN was incumbered with prisoners, and had discovered a stronger village further to my left, than those I had observed, which he was proceeding to attack. I immediately detached Capt. BROWN with his company to support the Colonel; but the distance being six miles, before the captain arrived the business was done, and Col. HARDIN joined me little before sunset, having killed six warriors and taken fifty-two prisoners. Captain BULL, the warrior who discovered me in the morning had gained the main town and given the alarm a short time before me; but the villages to the left were uninformed of my approach and had no retreat. The next morning I determined to detach my Lieut. Col. Commandant with five hundred men, to destroy the important town of Kethlipecanunk, at the mouth of Eel river, eighteen miles from my camp, and on the west side of Wabash. But on examination I discovered my men and horses to be crippled and worn down by a long laborious march, and the active exertions of the preceding day; that three hundred and sixty men only could be found in capacity to undertake the enterprise, and they prepared to march on foot.

“ Col. WILKINSON marched with this detachment at half after five in the evening, and returned to my camp the next day at one o'clock, having marched thirty-six miles in twelve hours, and destroyed the most important settlement of the enemy in that quarter of the federal territory.

“ The following is Col. WILKINSON's report respecting the enterprise :—

“Sir—The detachment under my command, destined to attack the village Kethlipecanunk, was put in motion at half after 5 o'clock last evening. Knowing that an enemy whose chief dependence is in his dexterity as a marksman, and alertness in covering himself behind trees, stumps, and other impediments to fair sight, would not hazard an action in the light, I determined to push my march until I approached the vicinity of the villages where I knew the country to be champaigne. I gained my point without a halt, twenty minutes before 11 o'clock; lay upon my arms until 4 o'clock, and half an hour after assaulted the town at all quarters. The enemy was vigilant, gave way on my approach, and in canoes crossed Eel creek, which washed the northeast part of the town.—That creek was not fordable. My corps dashed forward with the impetuosity becoming volunteers, and were saluted by the enemy with a brisk fire from the opposite side of the creek. Dauntless they rushed on to the water's edge, and finding the river impassable, returned a volley, which so galled and disconcerted their antagonists, that they threw away their fire without effect. In five minutes the Indians were driven from the covering, and fled with precipitation. I have three men slightly wounded. At half past 5 the town was in flames, and at 6 o'clock I commenced my retreat.”

“I am Sir, Yours &c.

JAMES WILKINSON.”

*Brigadier General Scott.*

“Many of the inhabitants of Kithlipecanunk were French, and lived in a state of civilization;—misunderstanding the object of a white flag, which appeared on an eminence opposite to me in the afternoon of the first, I liberated an aged squaw, and sent with her a message to the savages, that if they would come in and surren-

der, their towns should be spared, and they should receive good treatment. [It was afterwards found that this white flag was not intended as a signal of parley, but was placed there to mark the spot where a person of distinction among the Indians, who had died some time before, was interred.] On the 4th, I determined to discharge 16 of the weakest and most infirm of my prisoners with a talk to the Wabash tribes, a copy of which follows. My motives to this measure were, to rid the army of a heavy incumbrance, to gratify the impulses of humanity, to increase the panick my operations had produced, and by distracting the council of the enemy, to favour the views of government.

“On the same day, after having burned the towns and adjacent villages, and destroyed the growing corn and pulse, I began my march for the rapids of Ohio, where I arrived the 14th, without the loss of a single man by the enemy, and five only wounded, having killed thirty-two, chiefly warriors of size and figure, and taken fifty eight prisoners.”

*To the various tribes of the Peankashaws, and all the nations of Red People, living on the waters of the Wabash River.*

“THE Sovereign Council of the Thirteen United States, have long patiently borne your depredations against their settlements on this side of the great mountains, in hope that you would see your error, and correct it, by entering into bonds of amity and lasting peace. Moved by compassion, and pitying your misguided councils, they have frequently addressed you on this subject, but without effect. At length their patience is exhausted, and they have stretched forth the arm of power against you. Their mighty sons and chief warriors have at length taken up the hatchet, they have pene-



trated far into your country, to meet your warriors, and punish them for their transgressions. But you fled before them and decline the battle, leaving your wives and children to their mercy. They have destroyed your old town, Ouatatanau, and the neighboring villages, and have taken many prisoners. Resting here two days, to give you time to collect your strength, they have proceeded to your town of Kethlipecanunk; but you again fled before them; and that great town has been destroyed. After giving you this evidence of their power, they have stopped their hands, because they are as merciful as strong, and they again indulge the hope, that you will come to a sense of your true interest, and determine to make a lasting peace with them and all their children forever. The United States have no desire to destroy the red people, although they have the power; but should you decline this invitation, and pursue your unprovoked hostilities, their strength will again be exerted against you, your warriors will be slaughtered, your wives and children carried into captivity, and you may be assured, that those who escape the fury of our mighty chiefs, shall find no resting place on this side the Great Lakes. The warriors of the United States wish not to distress or destroy women and children, or old men, and although policy obliges them to retain some in captivity, yet compassion and humanity have induced them to set others at liberty, who will deliver you this talk. Those who are carried off will be left in the care of our great chief and warrior Gen. ST. CLAIR, near the mouth of the Miami and opposite to the Licking River, where they will be treated with humanity and tenderness; if you wish to recover them, repair to that place by the first day of July next: determine with true hearts to bury the hatchet and smoke the pipe of peace, they will then be restored to you, and you may again set down in security at your

old towns, and live in peace and happiness, unmolested by the people of the United States, who will become your friends and protectors, and will be ready to furnish you with all the necessaries you may require. But should you foolishly persist in your warfare, the sons of war will be let loose against you, and the hatchet will never be buried until your country is desolated, and your people humbled to the dust."

(Signed) CHARLES SCOTT. *Brig. Gen.*



## GENERAL WILKINSON'S EXPEDITION.



GENERAL WILKINSON TO GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR.



SIR,

HAVING carried into complete effect the enterprise which you were pleased to direct against L'Anguille, and having done the savages every other damage on the Wabash, to which I conceived my force adequate, I embrace the first moment's recess from active duty to detail to your Excellency the operations of the expedition intrusted to my conduct.

I left the neighborhood of Fort-Washington on the first inst. at one o'clock, and agreeable to my original plan, feinted boldly at the Miami villages, by the most direct course the nature of the ground, over which I had to march, would permit; I persevered in this plan until the morning of the 4th inst. and thereby avoided the hunting ground of the enemy, and the paths which led direct from White River to the Wabash, leaving the head waters of the first to my left; I then being about seventy miles advanced of Fort Washington, turned north-west. I made no discovery until the 5th, about 9 o'clock, A. M. when I crossed three much frequented

paths within two miles of each other, and all bearing east of north ; my guides were urgent for me to follow these paths, which betrayed their ignorance of the country, and convinced me I had to depend on my own judgment only. In the afternoon of that day, I was obliged to cross a deep bog, which injured several of my horses exceedingly, and a few miles beyond I struck a path bearing north by west, marked by the recent footsteps of five or six savages. My guides renewed their application to me to follow this path, but I pursued my own course. I had not got clear of my encampment, next morning, before my advance reported an impassable bog, in my front, extending several miles on either hand, and the guides asserted that the whole country to the Wabash was cut by such bogs, and that it would be impossible for me to proceed unless I followed the Indian paths, which avoided these bogs, or led through them at places where they were least difficult. Although I paid little regard to this information, as delay was dangerous, and every thing depended on the preservation of my horses, I determined to return to the right, and fall into the path I had passed the evening before, which varied in its course from N. by W. to N. E. The country had now become pomy, in every direction, I therefore resolved to pursue this path until noon, in the hope that it would conduct me to better ground, or to some devious trace which might lead to the object sought.

At 7 o'clock I crossed an east branch of Calumet river, about 40 yards wide, and about noon my advance guard fired on a small party of warriors and took a prisoner, the rest run off to the eastward. I halted about a mile beyond the spot where this affair happened, and on examining the prisoner found him to be a Delaware, living near the site of the late Miami village, which he informed was about thirty miles distant ; I immediately

retrograded four miles, and filed off by the right over some rising ground, which I had observed between the east branch of the Calumet river and a creek four or five miles advance of it, taking my course N. 60 W. This measure fortunately extricated me from the bogs and ponds, and soon placed me on firm ground; late in the afternoon I crossed one path running from N. to S. and shortly after fell in with another varying from N. W. to N. I pursued this about two miles, when I encamped—but finding it still inclining northward, I determined to abandon it in the morning. I resumed my march on the 6th at 4 o'clock, the Calumet being to the westward of me I was fearful I should strike the Wabash too high up, and perhaps fall in with the small town, which you mentioned to me at the mouth of the former river. I therefore steered a due west course, and at 6 o'clock A. M. crossed a road much used both by horse and foot, bearing due north. I now knew that I was near a Shawanese village, generally supposed to be on the waters of White river, but actually on the waters of the Calumet, and was sensible that every thing depended on the celerity and silence of my movements, as my real object had become manifest, I therefore pushed my march vigorously, leaving an officer and 20 men in ambush to watch the road, in order to intercept or beat off any party of the enemy which might casually be passing that way, and thereby prevent as long as possible the discovery of my real intentions.

At 8 o'clock I crossed Calumet river, now 80 yards wide, and running down N. N. W. I was now sensible from my reckoning compared with my own observations, during the late expedition under Gen. Scott, and the information received from your Excellency and others, that I could not be very far from L'Anguille. The party left at the road, soon fell in with four warriors encamp-

ed half a mile from the right of my line of march, killed one and drove off the others to the northward. My situation had now become extremely critical, the whole country to the north being in alarm, which made me greatly anxious to continue my march during the night, but I had no path to direct me, and it was impossible to keep my course, or for horsemen to march through a thick swampy country in utter darkness. I quitted my camp on the 7th, as soon as I could see my way, crossed one path at three miles distance, bearing N. E. and at seven miles fell into another very much used, bearing N. W. by N. which I at once adopted, as the direct rout to my object, and pushed forward with the utmost despatch. I halted at 12 o'clock to refresh the horses, and examine the men's arms and ammunition; marched again at half after one, and at 15 minutes before five I struck the Wabash, at one and a half leagues above the mouth of Eel river, being the very spot for which I had aimed from the commencement of my march. I crossed the river and following the path a N. by E. course, at the distance of two and an half miles, my reconnoitring party announced Eel river in front, and the town on the opposite bank. I dismounted, ran forward, and examined the situation of the town as far as was practicable without exposing myself, but the whole face of the country from the Wabash to the margin of Eel river, being a continued thicket of brambles, black jacks, weeds and shrubs, of various kinds, it was impossible for me to get a satisfactory view without endangering a discovery. I immediately determined to post two companies near the bank of the river opposite to the town, and above the ground I then occupied, to make a detour with Major CALDWELL, and the second battalion, until I fell into the Miami trace, and by that route to cross the river above, and gain the rear of the town, and to leave directions with Maj. M'DOWELL,



who commanded the first battalion, to lie perdue until I commenced the attack, then to dash through the river with his corps and the advanced guard, and assault the houses in front and upon the left.

In the moment I was about to put this arrangement into execution, word was brought me that the enemy had taken the alarm and were flying.—I instantly ordered a general charge, which was obeyed with alacrity, the men forcing their way over every obstacle, plunged through the river with vast intrepidity.—The enemy was unable to make the smallest resistance.—Six warriors and (in the hurry and confusion of the charge) two squaws and a child were killed—thirty-four prisoners were taken, and an unfortunate captive released—with the loss of two men killed, and one wounded.—I found this town scattered along Eel river for full three miles, on an uneven shrubby oak barren, intersected alternately by bogs almost impassable, and impervious thickets of plumb and hazle.—Notwithstanding these difficulties, if I may credit the report of the prisoners, very few who were in town escaped; expecting a second expedition, their goods were generally packed up or buried.—Sixty warriors had crossed the Wabash to watch the paths leading from the Ohio; the head chief with all the prisoners and a number of families were out, digging a root, which they substitute in the place of the potatoe, and about one hour before my arrival, all the warriors, except eight, had mounted their horses and rode up the river to a French store to purchase ammunition.—This ammunition had arrived from the Miami village that very day, and the squaws informed me was stored about two miles from town. I detached Major CALDWELL in quest of it, but he failed to make any discovery, although he scoured the country for seven or eight miles up the river. I encamped in the town that night, and the next morning I cut up

the corn scarcely in the milk, burnt the cabins, mounted my young warriors, squaws and children in the best manner in my power, and leaving two infirm squaws and a child with a short talk (which will be found annexed) I commenced my march for the Kickapoo town in the prairie.—I felt my prisoners a vast incumbrance, but I was not in force to justify a detachment, having barely 523 rank and file, and being then in the bosom of the Ouiattanou country, one hundred and eighty miles removed from succour, and not more than one and a half days forced march from the Pattawamees, Shawanese and Delawares.

Not being able to discover any path in the direct course to the Kickapoo town, I marched by the road leading to Tippecanoe, in the hope of finding some diverging trace which might favour my design.—I encamped that evening about six miles from Kenapacomaque, the Indian name for the town I had destroyed, and marched next morning at four o'clock.—My course continued west till about nine o'clock, when I turned to the north west on a small hunting path, and at a short distance I launched into the boundless praries of the west, with the intention to pursue that course, until I should strike a road which leads from the Pattawamees of Lake Michigan, immediately to the town I sought. With this view I pushed forward, through bog after bog, to the saddle skirts in mud and water, and after persevering for eight lours, I found myself environed on all sides with morasses which forbade my advancing, and at the same time rendered it difficult for me to extricate my little army. The way by which we had entered was so much beat and softened by the horses, that it was almost impossible to return by that route, and my guides pronounced the morass in front impassable.—A chain of thin groves extending in the direction to the Wabash, at this

time presented to my left, it was necessary I should gain these groves, and for this purpose I dismounted, went forward, and leading my horse through a bog to the arm-pits in mud and water, with difficulty and fatigue I accomplished my object, and changing my course to S. by W. I regained the Tippecanoe road at 5 o'clock, and encamped on it at 7 o'clock, after a march of thirty miles, which broke down several of my horses.

I am the more minute in detailing the occurrences of this day, because they produced the most unfavourable effect. I was in motion at four next morning, and at eight o'clock my advanced guard made some discoveries, which induced me to believe we were near an Indian village. I immediately pushed that body forward in a trot, and followed with Major CALDWELL, and the 2nd battalion, leaving Major M'DOWELL to take charge of the prisoners. I reached Tippecanoe at 12 o'clock, which had been occupied by the enemy, who watched my motions and abandoned the place that morning. After the destruction of this town in June last, the enemy had returned and cultivated their corn and pulse, which I found in high perfection and in much greater quantity than at L'Anguille. To refresh my horses and give time to cut down the corn, I determined to halt until the next morning, and then resume my march to the Kickapoo town in the prairie, by the road which leads from Ouiattanon to that place. In the course of the day I had discovered some murmurings and discontent among the men, which I found on enquiry to proceed from their reluctance to advance into the enemy's country; this induced me to call for a state of the horses and provisions, when to my great mortification 270 horses were returned lame and tired, with barely five day's provisions for the men.

Under these circumstances I was compelled to abandon my designs upon the Kickapoos of the prairie, and

with a degree of anguish not to be comprehended but by those who have experienced similar disappointments ; I marched forward to a town of the same nation, situate about three leagues west of Ouiattanon—as I advanced to the town, the enemy made some shew of fighting me, but vanished at my approach. I destroyed this town, consisting of thirty houses, with a considerable quantity of corn in the milk, and the same day I moved on to Ouiattanon, where I forded the Wabash, and proceeded to the site of the villages on the margin of the praire, where I encamped at seven o'clock. At this town and the villages destroyed by Gen. Scott in June, we found the corn had been re-planted, and was now in high cultivation, several fields being well ploughed, all which we destroyed. On the 12th, I resumed my march, and falling into Gen. Scott's return trace, I arrived without material accident at the rapids of Ohio, on the 21st inst. after a march, by accurate computation, of 451 miles from Fort Washington.

The services which I have been able to render fall short of my wishes, my intention and expectation—but, Sir, when you reflect on the causes which checked my career, and blasted my designs, I flatter myself you will believe every think has been done which could be done in my circumstances ; I have destroyed the chief town of the Ouiattanon nation, and made prisoners the sons and sisters of the king ; I have burnt a respectable Kickapoo village, and cut down at least 430 acres of corn, chiefly in the milk. The Ouiattanons left without houses, home or provision, must cease to war, and will find active employ to subsist their squaws and children during the impending winter.

Should these services secure to the country which I immediately represented, and the corps which I had the honor to command, the favorable consideration of govern-

ment, I shall infer the approbation of my own conduct, which, added to a consciousness of having done my duty, will constitute the richest reward I can enjoy.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be your Excellency's obedient and most humble servant.

JAMES WILKINSON.

Gov. ST. CLAIR.

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*A Talk from Colonel WILKINSON, to the Indian Nations  
living on the river Wabash.*

"THE arms of the United States are again exerted against you, and again your towns are in flames, and your wives and children made captives—again you are cautioned to listen to the voice of reason, to sue for peace, and submit to the protection of the United States, who are willing to become your friends and fathers ; but, at the same time, are determined to punish you for every injury you may offer to their children. Regard not those evil counsellors, who, to secure to themselves the benefits of your trade, advise you to measures which involve you, your women and children, in trouble and distress. The United States wish to give you peace ; because it is good in the eyes of the Great Spirit, that all his children should unite and live like brothers ; but if you foolishly prefer war, their warriors are ready to meet you in battle, and will not be the first to lay down the hatchet. You may find your squaws and your children under the protection of our great chief and warrior General ST. CLAIR, at Fort Washington ; to him you will make all applications, for an exchange of prisoners, or for peace.

JAMES WILKINSON."



CHAP. VIII.

DEFEAT OF GENERAL ST. CLAIR,  
BY THE INDIANS—1791.

GEN. ST. CLAIR TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

*“ Fort Washington, Nov. 9, 1791:*

“ SIR,

“ YESTERDAY afternoon the remains of the army under my command got back to this place, and I have now the painful task to give an account of as warm, and as unfortunate an action as almost any that has been fought, in which every corps was engaged and worsted, except the first regiment, that had been detached upon a service I had the honor to inform you of in my last despatch, and had not joined me.

On the 3d inst. the army had reached a creek about twelve yards wide running to the southward of west, which I believe to have been the river St. Mary, that empties into the Miami of the lake, arrived at the village about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, having marched near 9 miles, and were immediately encamped upon a very commanding piece of ground in two lines, having the above mentioned creek in front, the right wing composed of BUTLER'S, CLARKE'S, and PATTERSON'S battalions, commanded by Major-General BUTLER, formed the first line, and the left wing consisting of BEDINGER'S and GAITHER'S battalions, and the second regiment commanded by Col. DARKE, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow.

The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek, a steep bank, and FAULKNER'S corps, some of the cavalry and their piquets covered the left flank : the militia were

thrown over the creek and advanced about one quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order; there were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but, fled with the utmost precipitation on the advance of the militia; at this place, which I judged to be about 15 miles from the Miami village, I had determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Maj. FERGUSON, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and every thing else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up, but they did not permit me to execute either; for on the 4th, about half an hour before sun-rise, and when the men had been just dismissed from the parade, (for it was a constant practice for to have them all under arms a considerable time before light,) an attack was made upon the militia; those gave way in a very little time, and rushed into camp, through Maj. BUTLER's battalion, which, together with part of CLARK's they threw into considerable disorder, and which, notwithstanding the exertions of both these officers, was never altogether remedied, the Indians following close at their heels; the fire however of the front line checked them, but almost instantaneously a very heavy attack began upon that line, and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise; the great weight of it was directed against the centre of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaughter; finding no great effect from the fire, and confusion beginning to spread from the great number of men who were fallen in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done by the bayonet.

Lieut. Col. DARKE, was accordingly ordered to make a charge, with a part of the second line, and to turn the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great

spirit. The Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back three or four hundred yards : but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pursued back the troops that were posted there.

Another charge was made here by the second regiment, BUTLER's and CLARK's battalions, with equal effect, and it was repeated several times, and always with success—but in all of them many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with some raw troops, was a loss altogether irremediable. In that I just spoke of made by the second regiment and BUTLER's battalion, Maj. BUTLER was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the second regiment fell except three, one of which, Capt. GREATON, was shot through the body.

Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed, except Capt. FORD, who was badly wounded, more than half of the army fallen, being cut off from the road, it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make a retreat if possible. To this purpose the remains of the army was formed as well as circumstances would admit, towards the right of the encampment; from which, by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy, as if with the design to turn their right flank—but in fact to gain the road : this was effected ; and as soon as it was open, the militia took along it, followed by the troops—Maj. CLARK with his battalion covering the rear.

The retreat in those circumstances, was, you may be sure a precipitate one—it was in fact a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned, but that was unavoidable, for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful

part of the business is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit (which continued about four miles) had ceased.

I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself, and the orders I sent forward, either to halt the front, or prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to.

The rout continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sun-setting. The action began about half an hour before sun-rise, and the retreat was attempted at half an hour after nine o'clock.

I have not yet been able to get returns of the killed and wounded; but Major-General BUTLER, Lieut. Col. OLDSHAM, of the militia, Major FERGUSON, Major HART, and Major CLARK, are among the former.

I have now, Sir, finished my melancholy tale—a tale that will be felt, sensibly felt by every one that has sympathy for private distress, or for public misfortune. I have nothing, Sir, to say to the charge of the troops but their want of discipline, which, from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavy upon the officers; who did every thing in their power to effect it.—Neither were my own exertions wanting, but worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, or perhaps ought to have been.

We were overpowered by numbers; but it is no more

than justice to observe, that though composed of so many different species of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the whole army during the campaign.

At Fort Jefferson I found the first regiment, which had returned from the service they had been sent upon, without either overtaking the deserters, or meeting the convoy of provisions. I am not certain, Sir, whether I ought to consider the absence of this regiment from the field of action as fortunate or otherwise. I incline to think it was fortunate; for I very much doubt, whether, had it been in the action, the fortune of the day had been turned, and if it had not, the triumph of the enemy would have been more complete, and the country would have been destitute of every means of defence.

Taking a view of the situation of our broken troops at Fort Jefferson, and that there was no provisions in the fort, I called on the field officers for their advice what would be proper further to be done; and it was their unanimous opinion, that the addition of the first regiment unbroken as it was, did not put the army on so respectable a footing as it was in the morning, because a great part of it was now unarmed: that it had been found unequal to the enemy, and should they come on, which was probable, would be found so again; that the troops could not be thrown into the fort, both because it was too small, and that there was no provision in it.

That provisions were known to be upon the road at the distance of one or at most two marches; that therefore it would be proper to move without loss of time to meet the provisions, when the men might have the sooner an opportunity of some refreshment, and that a proper detachment might be sent back with it, to have it safely deposited in the fort.

This advice was accepted, and the army was put in motion again at ten o'clock, and marched all night, and



the succeeding day met with a quantity of flour, part of it was distributed immediately, part taken back to supply the army on the march to Fort-Hamilton, and the remainder, about fifty horse loads sent forward to Fort Jefferson.

I have said Sir, in the former part of my communication, that we were overpowered by numbers; of that however, I have no other evidence, but the weight of the fire, which was always a most deadly one, and generally delivered from the ground, few of the enemy shewing themselves on foot, except when they were charged, and that in a few minutes our whole camp, which extended above 350 yards in length, was entirely surrounded and attacked on all quarters.

The loss, Sir, the public has sustained by the fall of so many officers, particularly General BUTLER, and Major FERGUSON, cannot be too much regretted; but it is a circumstance that will alleviate the misfortune in some measure, that all of them fell most gallantly doing their duty. I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

AUTHUR ST. CLAIR."

"Hon. *Secretary of War.*"

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### PRIVATE LETTERS.

"An express has arrived from the district of Kentucky, with the melancholy news of the defeat of Gen. ST. CLAIR, within six miles of the Miami village. The loss on this occasion is about six hundred killed and wounded (said to be nearly equal to BRADDOCK's defeat) with seven pieces of artillery, and all the stores. Gen. ST. CLAIR, it is said, had about 1200 men; had reason to expect an attack and kept his men under arms all night, drawn up in a square. The attack commen-

sed about dawn of day, on all the lines, but principally on the rear lines, which was composed of the militia. The Indians gave one fire and rushed on, tomahawk in hand. The militia gave way to the centre; and before the artillery could be brought into action, the matrosses were all killed. and it fell into the hands of the enemy.

It was retaken but was useless for want of men to manage the pieces. The action was continued obstinately until 9 o'clock, when the troops gave way. ST. CLAIR rallied his men, and brought them off in tolerable order, with most of the wounded to Fort Jefferson, 30 miles in the rear of the action. The enemy pursued five miles.

*The Return of the Officers killed and wounded in the engagement is as follows:—*

KILLED.—1 Major-General, 1 Lieut. Colonel, 4 Majors, 11 Captains, 10 Lieutenants, 9 Ensigns, 1 Surgeon.—Total 37.

WOUNDED.—2 Lieut. Colonels, 1 Major, 11 Captains, 6 Lieutenants, 6 Ensigns, 1 Surgeon.—Total 27.

Beside the above, there were about 600 privates killed and many more wounded—few officers of distinction escaped except Gen. ST. CLAIR, who had many narrow escapes, eight balls passed through his cloathes.”



“ The army under the command of Gen. ST. CLAIR, was immediately surrounded—the attack was conducted with astonishing intrepidity on the part of the Indians—in a few moments the General’s tent was surrounded: however, he was rescued by a party of regular soldiers, who repelled the enemy with fixed bayonets. There was a party of the Chickasaw nation on their way to join Gen. ST. CLAIR, but did not arrive in season—there

was but one fellow only of that nation in the action, who it is said, killed and scalped eleven of the enemy with his own hands, and engaging with the twelfth, he fell, greatly lamented by the Americans.

Major-General BUTLER was wounded, and carried to a convenient place to have his wounds dressed, but an Indian having discovered the place to which he was conveyed, broke through the troops who attended him, and tomahawked the general and the doctor who was dressing his wounds, before he was killed by the troops.

Agreeable to the statement of the Indians they killed 1000 of the American troops, and took seven pieces of cannon—200 oxen and a great number of horses, but no prisoners—and that their loss was only fifty-six warriors killed.—They stated that they were 4000 strong, and were commanded by one of the Missasago Indians, who had been in the British service in the late war; that he planned and conducted the attack, which was even contrary to the opinion of a majority of the chiefs—and, that after the Americans began their retreat, he told the Indians they had killed enough, and that it was proper to give over the pursuit, and return and enjoy the booty they had taken—that their army was composed of some from almost every tribe from the Miami to lake Michigan.

The Missasago chief, above alluded to, was six feet in height, about 45 years of age, of a very sour and morose countenance, and apparently very crafty and subtle. His dress was Indian hose and moccasons, a blue petticoat that came half way down his thighs, an European waistcoat and surtout; his head was bound with an Indian cap that hung half way down his back, and almost entirely filled with plain silver broaches to the number of more than two hundred; he had two ear-rings to each ear; the upper part of each was formed of three silver medals

about the size of a dollar ; the lower part was formed of quarters of dollars, and fell more than 12 inches from his ears ; one from each ear over his breast—the other over his back ; he had three very large nose jewels of silver that were curiously painted.

The party of friendly Chickasaws, who were on their way to join General ST. CLAIR, arrived at Fort Jefferson two days after the bloody action.—They were commanded by PROMINGO, or the Mountain Leader.—On their way they discovered that the American troops had been defeated, but saw but one of the enemy, who, mistaking PROMINGO's party for some of his own comrades, made up to them ; he perceived his mistake, but too late to retreat ; he was accosted by PROMINGO, with "*Rascal you have been killing white men.*" He endeavored to exculpate himself, but PROMINGO ordered two of his warriors to expand his arms, and a third (an old man, for says PROMINGO, "none of my young men shall disgrace themselves so much as to kill a wretch like thee") to shoot him through the heart, which was accordingly executed ; they afterwards took off his scalp.

During ST. CLAIR's bloody engagement, Adjutant BURGESS received two wounds, the second of which proved mortal : after the receipt of the first, he continued to fight with distinguished gallantry ; the second unfortunately stopped his progress : faint with the loss of blood, he fell : a woman, who was particularly attached to him, raised him up, and while supporting him in her arms, received a ball in her breast, which put an immediate end to her existence !

Soon after Ensign WILSON (a much lamented youth) fell, one of the savages attempted to take off his scalp, which Col. DARKE perceiving, he hastened to the spot, and with his sword stabbed the miscreant through the body.

## INDIANS DEFEATED.

A few weeks after the defeat of the troops under Gen. ST. CLAIR, Gen. SCOTT despatched from the men under his command two spies to reconnoitre the enemy, who, when they arrived at the distance of a few miles from the fatal spot where the bloody action was fought, they discovered a large party of Indians diverting and enjoying themselves with the plunder they had taken, riding the bullocks, &c. and appeared to be mostly drunk—the men returned and communicated the important information to Gen. SCOTT, who immediately thereupon divided his troops into three divisions, advanced and fell on the enemy by surprise—the contest was short but victorious on the part of the American troops; seven hundred of the enemy were killed on the spot, all the cannon and stores in their possession retaken, and the remainder of the savage body put to flight.—Gen. SCOTT losing but six men, returned to head quarters in triumph, with most of the cattle, stores, &c.

Gen. SCOTT gave the following affecting account of the appearance of the field on which the bloody action between the American troops, under Gen. ST. CLAIR, and the savages was fought:—"The place had a very melancholy appearance—nearly in the space of 350 yards lay 500 skull bones—300 of which were buried by my men while on the ground; from thence for five miles on, and from the roads through the woods, was strewed with skeletons, muskets, &c."



## DEFEAT OF MAJOR M'MAHON.

On the 29th of July, 1794, Maj. M'MAHON marched with 80 riflemen, under the command of Capt. HARTS-



HORN, and 50 dragoons under the command of Capt. TAYLOR, for Fort Recovery, as an escort to 300 pack-horses loaded with flour for that garrison : on the morning following after they had deposited their loading, and were preparing to set out on their return, they were attacked by an army of 1200 Indians ; Capt. HARTSHORN, who had advanced with the riflemen about a quarter of a mile into the woods, immediately took post on a very strong commanding piece of ground near the garrison, and with unparalleled bravery, maintained the unequal fight, till Maj. M'MAUON, who had put himself at the head of the cavalry, was killed, as was Capt. TAYLOR, and Cornet TORRY, and many of the men wounded. The enemy now put their force against Capt. HARTSHORN, and in the moment when they were pushing to cut off his communication with the garrison, Lieut. DRAKE and Ensign DON sallied out, at the head of 20 brave fellows, who turned out voluntarily on the occasion, and joined him, after beating the enemy back at the point of the bayonet ; at this instant the brave Capt. HARTSHORN received a shot which broke his thigh. Lieut. CRAIG was killed, and Lieut. MARKS taken prisoner. Lieut. DRAKE now ordered a retreat, and in endeavoring to hold the enemy in check, so as to give the men time to save Capt. HARTSHORN, he received a shot in the groin. The enemy now pressed so hard as to compel the men to leave their captain.

Great numbers of the Indians must have been killed, as they came forward in solid columns, up to the muzzle of the guns. Lieut. MICHAEL, who was with Capt. HARTSHORN, but whom he had detached with a few active men to the flank of the enemy, was now missing ; and while their companions in the fort were deploring their fate and had given them up as lost, they saw him and Lieut. MARKS rushing through the thick of the enemy

at opposite directions, and though numbers of guns were fired at them they got in safe. Lieut. MICHAEL lost every man of his party except three, and Lieut. MARKS got off by knocking down the Indian who took him.

The Indians were observed to carry off great numbers of killed and wounded on pack horses—the loss of the Americans was 25 killed, and about 40 wounded—the party commanded by Capt. HARTSHORN brought in ten scalps of the enemy.

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CHAP. IX.

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DEFEAT OF THE INDIANS BY GEN. WAYNE,  
AUGUST 20th, 1809.

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GEN. WAYNE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

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“ SIR,

“ IT is with infinite pleasure that I announce to you the brilliant success of the Federal army, under my command, in a general action with the combined force of the hostile Indians, and a considerable number of the volunteers and militia of Detroit on the 20th August, on the banks of the Miamis, in the vicinity of the British post and garrison at the foot of the Rapids.

The army advanced from Fort Washington on the 15th, and arrived at Roch De Bout on the 18th, and the 19th we were employed in making a temporary post for the reception of our stores and baggage, and in reconnoitering the position of the enemy who were encamped behind a thick bushy wood and the British fort.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the army again advanced in columns agreeable to the standing order of march, the legion on the right, its right flank

covered by the Miamis—one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left under Brigadier-General TODD, and the other in the rear under Brigadier-General BARBEE. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major PRICE, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced, and to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

After advancing about five miles, Major PRICE's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat.

The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favourable covert for their mode of warfare: the Savages were formed in three lines within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavouring to turn our left flank; I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance to support the first, and directed Major General SCOTT to gain and turn the right flank of the Savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge so

as not to give them time to load again, or to form their lines.

I also ordered Capt. M. CAMPBELL, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favourable field for that corps to act in—all those orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were drove from all their coverts, in so short a time, that although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion and by Generals SCOTT, WOOD, and BARBEE, of the mounted volunteers to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action, the enemy being drove in the course of one hour more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned by less than one half their number.

From every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants, the troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred.—This horde of Savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison.

The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the Generals down to the Ensigns, merit my approbation.

Lieutenant COVINGTON, upon whom the command of the cavalry devolved (Capt. CAMPBELL being killed) cut down two Savages with his own hand, and Lieutenant WEBB one, in turning the enemy's left flank.

The wounds received by Captains SLOUGH, PRIOR, VAN RANSELAER and RAWLINS, and Lieutenants M'-

KENNY and SMITH, bear honourable testimony of their bravery and conduct; in fact every officer and soldier who had an opportunity to come into action displayed that true bravery which will always insure success; and here permit me to declare that I have never discovered more true spirit and anxiety for action than appeared to pervade the whole of the mounted volunteers, and I am well persuaded, that had the enemy maintained their favorite ground for one half hour longer they would have most severely felt the prowess of that corps.

But whilst I pay this just tribute to the living I must not neglect the gallant dead, among whom we have to lament the early death of those worthy and brave officers, Capt. CAMPBELL and Lieut. TOWLES, who fell in the first charge.

The loss of the enemy was more than double to that of the federal army—the woods were strewed for a considerable distance with dead bodies of Indians and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets. We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miamis, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance above and below the garrison, among which were the houses, stores and property of Col. M'KEE, the British Indian agent and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

The army returned to head-quarters on the 27th, by easy marches, laying waste the villages and cornfields for about fifty miles on each side of the Miamis. It is not improbable but that the enemy may make one desperate effort against the army, as it is said a reinforcement was hourly expected at Fort Miamis from Niagara, as well as numerous tribes of Indians living on the margins and islands of the lakes. This is an event rather to be wish-



ed for than dreaded whilst the army remains in force, their numbers will only tend to confuse the savages, and the victory will be the more complete and decisive, and which may eventually insure a permanent and happy peace.

The following is a return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the federal army, in the late action, to wit:—

KILLED—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 3 Sergeants, 28 privates—Total 33.

WOUNDED—4 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 4 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 2 Musicians, 84 privates—Total 100.

I have the honor to be, your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE."

*To the Secretary of War.*

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The following circumstances, which took place previous to and during Gen. WAYNE's engagement, are worthy of record.

At the instant Capt. CAMPBELL was attempting to turn the left flank of the enemy, three of them plunged into the river—two friendly negroes being on the opposite side, and observing the Indians making for the shore, they placed themselves on the bank behind a log, and as soon as the Indians approached within shot, one of the negroes fired and killed one of the Indians; the other two got hold of him to drag him out, when the other negro fired and killed another; the remaining Indian got hold of both those dead to pull them ashore, when the negro who killed the first having again reloaded fired and killed the third, and they all floated down the river.

Another circumstance is also related, viz. A soldier, soon after the conclusion of the action, proceeding some distance from the camp, met an Indian; they attacked

each other, the soldier with his bayonet, and the Indian with his tomahawk ; some of the soldiers passing by that way two days after, found them both dead, the soldier with his bayonet in the body of the Indian, and the Indian with his tomahawk in the soldier's head.

The following circumstance took place previous to the action :—A Mr. WELLS, who, when very young, was taken prisoner, by the Indians, and had resided several years among them, had made his escape and was employed by Gen. WAYNE as a spy.—The day before the action he was taken by the Indians, who determined to put him to death. Finding it impossible to escape, he informed them that Gen. WAYNE had not 500 men under his command, and did not expect an attack. On hearing this, the Indians attacked Gen. WAYNE with a confidence inspired by their (supposed) superiority of numbers, and were repulsed as before mentioned. After the action, Maj. CAMPBELL, (in whose custody the Indians had left WELLS) enquired his motive for deceiving them ; he answered, "*for the good of my country.*"—For this heroic action, he was unfeelingly delivered to the Indians, in whose hands it is supposed he experienced every torture that savage barbarity could invent or inflict.—The circumstances respecting Mr. WELLS, were related by a British drummer who deserted from the fort to Gen. WAYNE.

A council of Indians was held a few days after their defeat by Gen. WAYNE, in which British Agents endeavoured to persuade them to risque another action, but this they refused to do, expressing a willingness to bury the bloody hatchet and return to their homes—their loss they declared to be 200, and that their whole force at the commencement of the action amounted to 1500 Indians and 80 Canadians. The body of the Collector of Niagara was found among the slain.

CHAP. X.

ADVENTURES OF CAPT. DANIEL BOON,  
COMPRISING AN ACCOUNT OF THE WARS WITH THE  
INDIANS, ON THE OHIO, FROM 1769 to 1782.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

IT was on the first of May, 1769, that I resigned my domestic happiness, and left my family and peaceable habitation on the Yadkin river in North-Carolina, to wander through the wilderness of America, in quest of the country of Kentucky, in company with JOHN FINLEY, JOHN STUART, JOSEPH HOLDEN, JAMES MONAY, and WILLIAM COOL.

On the 7th June, after travelling in a western direction, we found ourselves on Red river, where JOHN FINLEY had formerly been trading with the Indians, and from the top of an eminence, saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucky. For some time we had experienced the most uncomfortable weather. We now encamped, made a shelter to defend us from the inclement season, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found abundance of wild beasts in this vast forest. The buffaloes were more numerous than cattle on other settlements, browsing on leaves of the cane, or crossing the herbage on those extensive plains. We saw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing.—In this forest the habitation of beasts of every American kind, we hunted with great success until December.

On the 22d December, JOHN STUART and I had a pleasing ramble; but fortune changed the day at the close of it. We had passed through a great forest, in which stood myriads of trees, some gay with blossoms, others rich with fruits. Nature was here a series of

wonders and a fund of delight. Here she displayed her ingenuity and industry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully colored, elegantly shaped, and charmingly flavored; and we were favored with numberless animals presenting themselves perpetually to our view. In the decline of the day, near Kentucky river, as we ascended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick cane brake and made us prisoners. The Indians plundered us and kept us in confinement seven days. During this we discovered no uneasiness or desire to escape, which made them less suspicious: but in the dead of night, as we lay by a large fire in a thick cane brake, when sleep had locked up their senses, my situation not disposing me to rest, I gently awoke my companion. We seized this favorable opportunity and departed, directing our course toward our old camp, but found it plundered and our company dispersed or gone home.

About this time my brother with another adventurer, who came to explore the country shortly after us, was wandering through the forest and accidentally found our camp. Notwithstanding our unfortunate circumstances, and our dangerous situation, surrounded with hostile savages, our meeting fortunately in the wilderness, gave us the most sensible satisfaction.

Soon after this, my companion in captivity, JOHN STUART, was killed by the savages, and the man who came with my brother returned home by himself. We were then in a dangerous helpless situation, exposed daily to perils and death, among savages and wild beasts, not a white man in the country but ourselves.

Thus many hundred miles from our families in the howling wilderness, we did not continue in a state of indolence, but hunted every day, and prepared a little cottage to defend us from the winter storms. We met with

no disturbance during the winter. On the 1st of May, 1770, my brother returned home by himself, for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving me alone, without bread, salt, or sugar, or even a horse or a dog—I passed a few days uncomfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety on my account, would have disposed me to melancholy if I had further indulged the thought.

One day I undertook a tour through the country, when the diversity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming season, expelled every gloomy thought. Just at the close of the day, the gentle gales ceased; a profound calm ensued; not a breath shook the tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge, and looking around with astonishing delight beheld the ample plains and beauteous tracts below. On one hand I surveyed the famous Ohio rolling in silent dignity, and marking the western boundary of Kentucky with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows and penetrate the clouds. All things were still. I kindled a fire near a fountain of sweet water, and feasted on the line of a buck which a few hours before I had killed. The shades of night soon overspread the hemisphere, and the earth seemed to gasp after the hovering moisture. My excursion had fatigued my body and amused my mind. I laid me down to sleep, and awoke not until the sun had chased away the night. I continued this tour and in a few days explored a considerable part of the country, each day equally pleased as the first; after which I returned to my old camp, which had not been disturbed in my absence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often reposed in thick cane brakes to avoid the savages, who I believe often visited my camp, but fortunately for me in my absence. No populous city with all its varieties of



commerce and stately structures, could afford so much pleasure to my mind, as the beauties of nature I found in this country.

Until the 27th July, I spent the time in an uninterrupted scene of sylvan pleasures, when my brother, to my great felicity met me, according to appointment at our old camp. Soon after we left the place and proceeded to Cumberland river, reconnoitring that part of the country, and giving names to the different rivers.

In March, 1771, I returned home to my family, being determined to bring them as soon as possible, at the risk of my life and fortune, to reside in Kentucky, which I esteemed a second paradise.

On my return I found my family in happy circumstances. I sold my farm on the Yadkin, and what goods we could not carry with us, and on the 25th September, 1773, we took leave of our friends and proceeded on our journey to Kentucky, in company with five more families, and forty men that joined us in Powell's Valley, which is 150 miles from the now settled parts of Kentucky ;—but this promising beginning was soon overcast with a cloud of adversity:

On the 10th October the rear of our company was attacked by a party of Indians ; who killed six, and wounded one man. Of these my eldest son was one that fell in the action. Though we repulsed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair scattered our cattle and brought us into extreme difficulty—we retreated forty miles to the settlement on Clench river. We had passed over two mountains, Powell's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain, when this adverse fortune overtook us. These mountains are in the wilderness, in passing from the old settlements in Virginia to Kentucky, are ranged in a southwest and northeast direction, are of great length and breadth, and not far distant from each

other. Over them nature hath formed passes less difficult than might be expected from the view of such huge piles. The aspect of these cliffs are so wild and horrid, that it is impossible to behold them without terror.

Until the 6th June, 1774, I remained with my family on the Clinch, when I and another person were solicited by Governor DUNMORE, of Virginia, to conduct a number of surveyors to the falls of Ohio. This was a tour of 800 miles, and took us sixty-two days.

On my return, Gov. DUNMORE gave me the command of three garrisons during the campaign against the Shawanese. In March, 1775, at the solicitation of a number of gentlemen of North Carolina, I attended their treaty at Wataga, with the Cherokee Indians, to purchase the lands on the south side of Kentucky river. After this I undertook to mark out a road in the best passage from the settlements through the wilderness to Kentucky.

Having collected a number of enterprising men well armed, I soon began this work—we proceeded until we came within fifteen miles of where Boonsborough now stands, where the Indians attacked us, and killed two and wounded two more of our party. This was on the 22d March, 1775—two days after we were again attacked by them, when we had two more killed and three wounded. After this we proceeded on to Kentucky river without further opposition.

On the 1st April we began to erect the fort of Boonsborough, at a salt lick, sixty yards from the river on the south side. On the 4th the Indians killed one of our men. On the 14th of June, having completed the fort, I returned to my family on the Clinch, and whom I soon after removed to the fort—my wife and daughter were supposed to be the first white women that ever stood upon the banks of Kentucky river!

On the 24th December the Indians killed one of our men and wounded another ; and on the 14th July, 1776, they took my daughter prisoner—I immediately pursued them with eight men, and on the 16th overtook and engaged them, I killed two of them and recovered my daughter.

The Indians having divided themselves into several parties, attacked on one day all our infant settlements and forts, doing a great deal of damage—the husband-men were ambushed and unexpectedly attacked while toiling in the field. They continued this kind of warfare until the 15th April 1777, when nearly 100 of them attacked the village of Boonsborough, and killed a number of its inhabitants. On the 19th Colonel LOGAN's fort was attacked by 200 Indians—there were only 15 men in the fort, of whom the enemy killed two and wounded one.

On the 20th August Col. BOWMAN arrived with 100 men from Virginia, with which additional force we had almost daily skirmishes with the Indians, who began now to learn the superiority of the "*long knife*," as they termed the Virginians ; being out-generaled in almost every action. Our affairs began now to wear a better aspect, the Indians no longer daring to face us in open field, but sought private opportunities to destroy us.

On the 7th February, 1778, while on a hunting excursion, alone, I met a party of 102 Indians, and 2 Frenchmen, marching to attack Boonsborough—they pursued and took me prisoner, and conveyed me to Old Chelicothe, the principal Indian town on Little Miami, where we arrived on the 18th February, after an uncomfortable journey.—On the 10th March I was conducted to Detroit, and while there was treated with great humanity by Governor HAMILTON, the British

commander at that post, and Intendant for Indian affairs.

The Indians had such an affection for me, that they refused 100*l.* sterling offered them by the Governor, if they would consent to leave me with him, that he might be enabled to liberate me on my parole. Several English gentlemen then at Detroit, sensible of my adverse fortune, and touched with sympathy, generously offered to supply my wants, which I declined with many thanks, adding that I never expected it would be in my power to recompence such unmerited generosity.

On the 10th April the Indians returned with me to Old Chelicothe, where we arrived on the 25th.—This was a long and fatiguing march, although through an exceeding fertile country, remarkable for springs and streams of water. At Chelicothe I spent my time as comfortably as I could expect; was adopted, according to their custom, into a family, where I became a son, and had a great share in the affection of my new parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as cheerful and contented as possible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently gained their applause for my activity at our shooting matches. I was careful not to exceed many of them in shooting, for no people are more envious than they in this sport. I could observe in their countenances and gestures the greatest expressions of joy when they exceeded me, and when the reverse happened, of envy.—The Shawanese king took great notice of me, and treated me with profound respect and entire friendship, often entrusting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the spoils of the woods, and as often presented some of what I had taken to him, expressive of duty to my sovereign. My food and lodging was in common

with them, not so good indeed as I could desire, but necessity made every thing acceptable.

I now began to meditate an escape, and carefully avoided giving suspicion. I continued at Chelicothe until the first day of June, when I was taken to the salt springs on Sciotoha, and there employed ten days in the manufacturing of salt. During this time I hunted with my Indian masters, and found the land for a great extent about this river to exceed the soil of Kentucky if possible, and remarkably well watered.

On my return to Chelicothe, 450 of the choicest Indian warriors were ready to march against Boonsborough; they were painted and armed in a frightful manner. This alarmed me and I determined to escape.

On the 16th of June, before sunrise, I went off secretly, and reached Boonsborough on the 20th, a journey of 160 miles, during which I had only one meal. I found our fortress in a bad state, but we immediately repaired our flanks, gates, posterns, and formed double bastions, which we completed in ten days. One of my fellow prisoners escaping after me, brought advice that on account of my flight, the Indians had put off their expedition for three weeks.

About August 1st, I set out with 19 men to surprise Point Creek Town on Sciotoha, within four miles of which we fell in with 40 Indians going against Boonsborough—we attacked them and they soon gave way without any loss on our part—the enemy had one killed and two wounded—we took three horses and all their baggage.—The Indians having evacuated their town, and gone altogether against Boonsborough, we returned, passed them on the 6th, and on the 7th arrived safe at Boonsborough.

On the 8th, the Indian army, consisting of 444 men, under the command of Capt. DUQUESNE, and eleven other Frenchmen, and their own chiefs, arrived and sum-



moned the fort to surrender. I requested two days consideration, which was granted. During this we brought in through the posterns all the horses and other cattle we could collect.

On the 9th, in the evening, I informed their commander, that we were determined to defend the fort, while a man was living. They then proposed a treaty, and said if we sent out nine men to conclude it, they would withdraw. The treaty was held within sixty yards of the fort, as we suspected the savages. The articles were agreed to and signed; when the Indians told us it was their custom for two Indians to shake hands with every white man in the treaty, as an evidence of friendship. We agreed to this also. They immediately grappled us to take us prisoners, but we cleared ourselves of them, though surrounded by hundreds, and gained the fort safe; except one man who was wounded by a heavy fire from the enemy.

The savages began now to undermine the fort, beginning at the water mark of Kentucky river, which is 60 yards from the fort; this we discovered by the water being made muddy by the clay—we countermined them by cutting a trench across their subterraneous passage. The enemy discovering this by the clay we threw out of the fort, desisted. On the 20th August they raised the siege, during which we had two men killed and four wounded. We lost a number of cattle. The loss of the enemy was 37 killed, and a much larger number wounded. We picked up 125lbs. of their bullets, besides what stuck in the logs of the fort.

In July, 1779, during my absence, Col. BOWMAN, with 160 men, went against the Shawanese of Old Chelicothe. He arrived undiscovered, a battle ensued, which lasted until ten in the morning, when Col. BOWMAN retreated 30 miles. The Indians collected all their strength and

pursued him, when another engagement ensued for two hours, not to Col. BOWMAN's advantage. Col. HARROD proposed to mount a number of horse and break the enemy's line, who at this time fought with remarkable fury. This desperate measure had a happy effect, and the savages fled on all sides. In these two battles we had nine men killed and one wounded. Enemy's loss uncertain, only two scalps were taken.

June 22d, 1780, 600 Indians and Canadians under Col. BIRD, attacked Riddle's and Martin's station, and the Forks of Licking river, with six pieces of artillery ; they took all the inhabitants captives, and killed one man and two women, loaded the others with the heavy baggage, and such as failed in the journey were tomahawked.

The hostile disposition of the savages, caused General CLARK, the commandant at the falls of Ohio, to march with his regiment and the armed force of the country against Peccaway, the principal town of the Shawanese, on a branch of the great Miami, which he attacked with great success, took seventeen scalps, and burned the town to ashes, with the loss of seventeen men.

About this time I returned to Kentucky with my family ; for during my captivity, my wife, thinking me killed by the Indians, had transported my family and goods on horses through the wilderness, amidst many dangers, to her father's house in North-Carolina.

On the 6th of October, 1780, soon after my settling again at Boonsborough, I went with my brother to the Blue Licks, and on our return, he was shot by a party of Indians, they followed me by scent of a dog, which I shot and escaped. The severity of the winter caused great distress in Kentucky, the enemy during the summer having destroyed most of the corn. The inhabitants lived chiefly on Buffaloe's flesh.

In spring, 1782, the Indians harrassed us. In May,

they killed a man at Ashton's station and took a negro prisoner. Capt. ASHTON pursued them with 25 men, and in an engagement which lasted two hours, his party were obliged to retreat, having 8 killed and 4 mortally wounded; their brave commander fell in the action.

August 10th, two boys were carried off from Major Hoy's station. Captain HOLDER pursued with 17 men, they were also defeated, and had 4 killed and 1 wounded. Our affairs became more and more alarming. The savages infested the country, killing men at every opportunity. In a field near Lexington, an Indian shot a man and running to scalp him, was himself shot from the fort and fell dead upon his enemy. All the Indian nations were now united against us.

August 15th, five hundred Indians and Canadians came against Briat's station, five miles from Lexington, they assaulted the fort and killed all the cattle round it; but being repulsed they retired the third day, having about 30 killed, their wounded uncertain. The garrison had 4 killed and 3 wounded.

August 18th, Col. TODD, Col. TRIGG, Major HARLAND, and myself, speedily collected one hundred and seventy-six men, well armed, and pursued the savages. They had marched beyond the Blue Licks, to a remarkable bend of the main fork of Licking River, about 43 miles from Lexington, where we overtook them on the 19th.

The savages observing us, gave way, and we ignorant of their numbers, passed the river. When they saw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage in situation, they formed their line of battle from one end of the Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. The battle was exceeding fierce for about 15 minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of 67 men, 7 of whom were taken

prisoners. The brave and much lamented Colonels **TODD** and **TRIGG**, Major **HARLAND**, and my second son, were among the dead. We were afterwards told, that the Indians, on numbering their dead, finding they had four more killed than we, four of our people they had taken were given up to their young warriors, to be put to death after their barbarous manner.

On our retreat we were met by Col. **LOGAN**, who was hastening to join us, with a number of well armed men. This powerful assistance we wanted on the day of battle. The enemy said one more fire from us would have made them give way.

I cannot reflect upon this dreadful scene, without great sorrow. A zeal for the defence of their country led these heroes to the scene of action, though with a few men, to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way, they pursued us with the utmost eagerness, and in every quarter spread destruction. The river was difficult to cross, and many were killed in the flight, some just entering the river, some in the water, others after crossing in ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horseback, a few on foot; and being dispersed every where, in a few hours, brought the melancholy news of this unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may guess what sorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants, exceeding any thing that I am able to describe. Being reinforced, we returned to bury the dead, and found their bodies strewed every where, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful scene exhibited a horror almost unparalleled; some torn and eaten by wild beasts; those in the river eaten by fishes; all in such a putrid condition, that no one could be distinguished from another.

When General **CLARK**, at the falls of Ohio, heard of our disaster, he ordered an expedition to pursue the sav-

ages, we overtook them within two miles of their towns, and we should have obtained a great victory, had not some of them met us when about two hundred poles from their camp. The savages fled in the utmost disorder, and evacuated all their towns. We burned to ashes Old Chelicothe, Peccaway, New Chelicothe, Wills-Town and Chelicothe; entirely destroyed their corn and other fruits; and spread desolation through their country. We took seven prisoners and five scalps and lost only four men, two of whom were accidentally killed by ourselves. This campaign damped the enemy, yet they made secret incursions.

In October a party attacked Crab Orchard, and one of them being a good way before the others, boldly entered a house, in which were only a woman and her children, and a negro man. The savage used no violence, but attempted to carry off the negro, who happily proved too strong for him, and threw him on the ground, and in the struggle the woman cut off his head with an axe—whilst her little daughter shut the door. The savages instantly came up and applied their tomahawks to the door, when the mother putting an old rusty gun barrel through a crevice, the savages immediately went off.

From that time till the happy return of peace between the United States and Great-Britain, the Indians did us no mischief. Soon after this the Indians desired peace.

Two darling sons and a brother I have lost by savage hands, which have also taken from me 40 valuable horses, and abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I spent, separated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by the summer's sun, and pinched by the winter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed: Peace crowns the sylvan shade.

DANIEL BOON.

*Fayette County, Kentucky.*



## A P P E N D I X.

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IN vindication of the conduct of the Americans, in the commencement of hostilities with the natives of the country, we shall here, as we proposed, record some few instances of the unprovoked acts of barbarity of the latter, practiced upon the defenceless of the former.—As was mentioned in a preceding page, although a peace was happily effected between the two contending powers, Great-Britain and America, in 1783, the Savages who had in the contest decided with the former, were yet unwilling to bury the bloody hatchet, although the Americans proposed a peace with them on the most just and equitable terms.

Dissatisfied with the result of the contest of their auxiliaries, with a nation whose frequent aggressions and disposition to deprive them of their lands, had induced them to have recourse to the fatal tomahawk and scalping knife to obtain redress, they seemed now still more exasperated and determined on the sought for revenge ; —they suffered no opportunity to pass unimproved—the hoary headed and the tender infant alike fell victims to their wanton barbarity—to counteract which, and to prevent the further effusion of innocent blood, was an army raised and sent into their country, first to offer them peace on honorable terms, but if rejected to act on the offensive.

That the Savages were the first aggressors, that their unprovoked acts of cruelty drove an injured people to the disagreeable alternative of appealing to arms, to defend and protect the lives of their defenceless brethren, the following melancholy particulars will we presume suffice to convince every candid reader :—

Copy of a letter from Mr. JOHN CORBLY (a Baptist minister) to his friend in Philadelphia, dated

“ *Muddy Creek*, (Penn.) July 8. 1783.”

“ *Dear Sir*,

“ The following are the particulars of the destruction of my unfortunate family by the Savages—On the 10th May last being my appointment to preach at one of my meeting houses, about a mile from my dwelling house, I sat out with my loving wife and five children, for public worship. Not suspecting any danger, I walked behind a few rods with my bible in my hand, meditating.—As I was thus employed, on a sudden, I was greatly alarmed by the frightful shrieks of my dear family before me—I immediately ran to their relief with all possible speed, vainly hunting a club as I ran—when within a few yards of them, my poor wife observing me, cried out to me to make my escape—at this instant an Indian ran up to shoot me, I had to strip and by so doing out-ran him. My wife had an infant in her arms which the Indians killed and scalped, after which they struck my wife several times, but not bringing her to the ground, the Indian who attempted to shoot me approached her and shot her through the body, after which they scalped her!—my little son, about six years old, they despatched by sinking their hatchets into his brains!—my little daughter, four years old, they in like manner killed and scalped! My eldest daughter attempted an escape by concealing herself in a hollow tree, about six rods from the fatal scene of action—observing the Indians retiring (as she supposed) she deliberately crept from the place of her concealment, when one of the Indians, who yet remained on the ground, espying her, ran up to her and with his tomahawk knocked her down and scalped her!—but, blessed be God, she yet survives, as does her little sister whom the savages in like manner

tomahawked and scalped—they are mangled to a shocking degree, but the doctors think there are some hopes of their recovery.

When I supposed the Indians gone I returned to see what had become of my unfortunate family—whom, alas, I found in the situation above described!—No one, my dear friend, can form a true conception of my feelings at this moment—a view of a scene so shocking to humanity quite overcome me—I fainted, and was unconsciously borne off by a friend who at the instant arrived to my relief.

Thus, dear sir, have I given you a faithful though a short narrative of the fatal catastrophe—and amidst which my life is spared, but for what purpose the Great Jehovah best knows—oh, may I spend it to the praise and glory of his grace, who worketh all things after the council of his own will—the government of the world and the church is in his hands. I conclude with wishing you every blessing, and subscribe myself your affectionate though afflicted friend, and unworthy brother in the gospel ministry,

JOHN CORBLY."

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On the 27th September, 1784, as five gentlemen (Messrs. JACOBUS TALLER, ISAAC ARNOLD, JAMES STEWART, DANIEL BARCLAY, and ISAAC VAN ALSTYNE,) were on their way to Detroit, at a place called the river Burdell, on Lake Erie, they were suddenly attacked by four Mahagon or Delaware Indians, (armed with muskets and tomahawks) who fired on them and killed Mr. TALLER and Mr. BARCLAY dead on the spot, and wounded Mr. ARNOLD—they then rushed on with their tomahawks—one attacked Mr. ARNOLD, who, after a smart struggle, in which he received several wounds in his head, disengaged himself, and having a musket at the instant presented him by Mr. STEWART, snapped it (it unfortu-

nately not being charged) at the Indian, who immediately thereupon with the three others fled to the woods. As soon as they had disappeared, Mr. ARNOLD and his companion hastened to the shore of the lake, in which they launched their batteau, but when about thirty rods from the shore, they were hailed by Mr. VAN ALSTYNE, who during the bloody contest had secreted himself in the bushes—he begged of his companions to return and take him on board, on which Mr. ARNOLD requested him to proceed a few rods down the lake to a point of land, where he could more conveniently take him in—Mr. VAN ALSTYNE, it was supposed, misunderstanding his friend, proceeded directly up the lake, to the very spot where the Indians were then assembled, who with their tomahawks instantly despatched him; after which they followed the two survivors, in an old canoe, two or three miles down the lake, but being unable to overhual them, they discontinued the pursuit.

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Copy of a letter from Col. ROBERTSON to Genl. WASHINGTON, dated,

“Nashville, Aug. 1, 1787.

“Sir,

“By accounts received from the Chickasaw nation of Indians, we are informed that at a grand council of their warriors, it was unanimously determined to commence active operations against the whites; the Cherokees they expect will join them. The white inhabitants in this quarter are drawing together, and are doing every thing possible for their defence, but I fear without some timely assistance we shall all fall a sacrifice to the wanton barbarity of our savage foes, who we expect are now on their way to this place to the number of one thousand. Major HALL and his eldest son fell a sacrifice to their fury two days ago, near Bedloe’s Lick. They have killed

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about twenty-four persons in the course of a few months in this settlement, besides a great number more near it.

From Burke county we learn that on the 11th instant, two men, a woman, and her little daughter, were scalped at Williams's Swamp, on the Ogechee river, by a party of Indians—the little girl (to deter them from their cruel design) held out a bottle of honey, telling them it was rum, begging them in the mean time to spare her life—they told her they did not want rum, but her hair!—they knocked her down and scalped her, but we are happy to learn she is in a fair way of recovery.

By a letter from Kentucky, I am informed that the Indians have done more mischief in that state the present year, than for at least four years past. Scarce a boat can pass below Limestone but what is attacked by them; six or seven have been captured, some with very valuable lading—by a prisoner who escaped from them a short time since, we are informed that the Indians have procured a boat, or rather a kind of floating battery, with the sides built high and rendered bullet proof; this boat is stationed near the mouth of the Great Miami. They a few days since captured a boat in which were a Capt. ASHLEY and his family—a son of the captain having been very spirited in the opposition, the savages immediately put him to death, cut out his heart and broiled it, which they afterwards devoured in the presence of the unhappy father, who has since made his escape from them—a proceeding so barbarous as this, I have never heard of being practiced by the savages before.”

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Copy of a letter from General CLARKE to his Honor the Governor of the State of Georgia, dated,

“ *Long-Creek*, Sept. 24, 1787.

“ *Sir*,

“ I had certain information that a man was killed



on the 14th near Greensborough, by a party of six or seven Indians; and that on the 16th Col. BARBER, with a small party was waylaid by 50 or 60 Indians; and that he had three of his party killed. This, and the information contained in Mr. BARNARD's last letter, and a variety of other accounts equally alarming, determined me to raise what men I could in the course of 24 hours, and marched with them to protect the frontiers, in which space of time I collected 162 men, chiefly volunteers, and proceeded to the place where Col. BARBER had been attacked, where I found the bodies of the three men mentioned above, mangled in a shocking manner, and after I had buried them, proceeded on the trail of the murderers as far as the south fork of the Oakmulgee, where, finding I had no chance of overtaking them, I left it and went up the said river, until I met with a fresh trail of Indians coming in towards our frontier settlements; I immediately turned and followed this trail until the morning of the 21st, between 11 and 12 o'clock, when I came up with them. They had just crossed a branch called Jack's Creek, through a thick cane brake, and were encamped and cooking on an eminence. My force then consisted of 130 men, 30 having been sent back on account of their horses being tired and lost. I drew up my men in three divisions, the right commanded by Col. FREEMAN and Major CLARKE, who were ordered to surround and charge the Indians, which they did with such dexterity and spirit that they immediately drove them from their encampment back into the cane brake, where, finding it impossible for them to escape, they obstinately returned our fire until half past four o'clock, when they ceased, except now and then a shot.

“ During the latter part of the action they seized every opportunity of escaping by small parties leaving the rest to shift for themselves. About sunset I thought it most

adviseable to draw off, as the men had suffered for want of provisions nearly two days, and for want of water during the action, but more particularly to take care of the wounded, which amounted to eleven, and six killed. From every circumstance I am certain there were not less than 25 Indians killed, and am induced to suppose, that could I have staid all night, I must have found 40 or 50 dead of their wounds by the morning.—In short they were totally defeated, with the loss of their provisions, cloathing, &c. consisting of the following particulars: 2 guns, 32 brass kettles, and 87 large packs. containing blankets, match coats, boots, moccasons, tomahawks, pipes, upwards of 100 halters and bribles, &c. from all which I judge their number was fully equal to ours. Col. FREEMAN and Major CLARK distinguished themselves, and from the spirit and bravery with which the whole of my little party acted during the action, I do not believe that had we met them in the open woods, we should have been more than five minutes in destroying them all.

“ While I was on this excursion two skirmishes happened near Greensborough, in one of which one man was wounded, and in the other six stand of arms were lost, being guarded by only two men, while the rest of the party was gathering fodder.

“ I have now to beg your attention to the unfortunate wounded, who are at Read’s Fort; a doctor, some wine, tea, coffee, and sugar, are indispensably necessary.

“ I am, Sir, with the utmost respect, your Honor’s most obedient, and very humble servant,

“ B. CLARK, *Brig. Gen.*

“ *The Hon. George Mathews, Governor of Georgia.*”

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Copy of a letter from Colonel JAMES MAXWELL, to Brigadier-General JACKSON, dated 16th March, 1788.

“ On the 6th inst. Capt. STIRLING, of this regiment,

received intelligence of a party of Indians collecting stock over the river Alatomaha, whereupon he ordered five picked horsemen, well mounted, to cross the river. They lay that night at the evacuated fort called William's, and on Saturday morning proceed up the south side of the river, and at Pninholloway creek found their trail, which they followed, and about two o'clock came up with them, twelve in number, with seventeen head of cattle and a drove of hogs. The white party immediately charged, and drove the Indians for a considerable distance, until they gained a bay, where they resolutely faced about, and finding the small number of whites, entered into a spirited action, which continued for some time, during which two of the Indians were killed; but the superiority of numbers obliged the white party to retreat, after having one of their horses killed, another so wounded as to be of little service, one of the men wounded through the hand, and another slightly in the neck. I make no doubt but they will leave the stock and make off, as this is the first check they have had in this part. The names of the five brave men who fought so superior a number, almost three to one, and who would in all probability have destroyed the Indian party but for the swamp, are, *GREEN*, *HARVEY*, *KING*, *WAGGONER* and *CORKER*; *GREEN* was slightly wounded in the neck, *HARVEY* rendered unfit for action by a shot in the hand, *KING*'s horse was wounded, *WAGGONER*'s horse was killed on the spot, and his rifle almost choaked the first fire, and *CORKER* lost his only flint in the action, yet with all those disadvantages, they made a safe and secure retreat. *WAGGONER*, a poor man, lost his horse, bridle, saddle and blanket. I hope his country will make him whole. Capt. *LEWIS*, whose corps is very valuable, has scouted as far as Onoophie with success.—Most of the settlers on the frontier have removed to their plantations."

On the 1st April, 1788, a party of Indians attacked the dwelling-house of a Mr. JOHN MERRIL, in Nelson county (Kentucky.)—Mr. MERRIL, who was first alarmed by the barking of his dog, hastened to the door to discover the cause, on opening of which he received the fire of the Indians which broke his right leg and arm—the Indians now attempted to enter the house, but was prevented by the doors being immediately closed and secured by Mrs. MERRIL and her daughter—the Indians succeeded in hewing away a part of the door, through which passage one of them attempted to enter, but the heroic mother, in the midst of her screaming children and groaning husband, seized an axe and gave the ruffian a fatal blow ; after which she hauled him through the passage into the house !—the others (unconscious of the fate of their companion) supposing that they had now nearly succeeded in their object, rushed forward, four of whom Mrs. MERRIL in like manner despatched before the others discovered their mistake.—The remaining Indians, after retiring for a few moments, returned and renewed their efforts to enter the house—despairing of succeeding at the door they got on the top of the house and attempted to descend the chimney, to prevent which, Mr. MERRIL directed his little son to empty upon the fire the contents of a feather-bed, which had the desired effect, as the smoke and heat caused thereby, soon brought down rather unexpectedly two of the enemy !—Mr. MERRIL exerting every faculty at this critical moment, seized a billet of wood with which he soon despatched the two half smothered Indians, while in the mean time his heroic wife was busily engaged in defending the door against the efforts of the only remaining one, whom she so severely wounded with an axe that he was soon glad to retire.

A prisoner who escaped from the enemy soon after



the transaction, informed that the wounded savage above mentioned was the only one that escaped of the party, which consisted of eight—that on his return being asked by the prisoner “what news,” he answered “bad news for poor Indian, me lose a son, me lose a brother.—the squaws have taken the breech clout and fight worse than the “*Long Knives* !”

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On the 3d June, 1788, as two men and three boys were fishing on Floyd’s fork of Salt River, they were suddenly attacked by a party of Indians, who killed the two men and made prisoners of the boys. Soon after they liberated one of the lads, first presenting him with a tomahawk, which they desired him to carry to his friends, and inform them what had become of his companions.

About the 20th, the Indians fired on nine Frenchmen as they were proceeding up the Wabash river, four of whom they killed and wounded three—on examining the dead they discovered one of them to be a French trader, who was married to a daughter of *John Brandt*, the famous Indian Chief, on which they assisted in cutting the arrows out of the wounded men, and after expressing great sorrow for what they had done, departed.

On the 10th July a party of Indians attacked the house of a Mr. CHENOWETH, they killed and scalped two of his children and tomahawked and scalped his wife, whom they left for dead—Mr. C. (who had his arm broken by the fire of the savages) with the remainder of the family made their escape.—A sick daughter who was confined to her chamber, and who during the bloody affray had been forgotten by her father, remained ignorant of the horrid massacre until the succeeding day ; when, no one of the family coming to her assistance, she succeeded in crawling down stairs, where she was inexpressibly shock-



ed at the sight of a beloved parent stretched upon the floor, almost lifeless, and beside of whom lay the mangled bodies of her dear brothers. Fortunately, her unhappy father returned the succeeding day to the house, and conveyed the two surviving members of his family to the house of a friend, where they finally recovered.

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Copy of a letter from Colonel MAXWELL, to his Excellency the Governor of Georgia, dated  
“ *Midway, (Liberty-County) May 24, 1789.*

SIR,

“ Last Tuesday there was a train of Indians discovered making for this settlement, by a few men employed as spies. I immediately issued out orders for embodying the militia, and three small parties were collected on the frontiers that night. On Wednesday morning, as soon as a party of my men turned out of the fort the Indians attempted to seize them. There were six negroes who turned out of the fort with guns, who as soon as they discovered the Indians, retreated back into the fort, to which they were closely pursued by the Indians—there was a considerable number of men in the fort, by whom it was most gallantly defended. while some of those who quit the fort attacked the enemy in the rear, which soon made them retreat with some loss to a fence, where they kept up a heavy fire at the fort, for some time, without effect. They carried off three negroes. Several parties of men soon got to the place, but pursued without waiting to collect a force sufficient to attack them. Capt. FRASER, with a small party, came up with them on the side of a swamp, which they immediately run into, and prevented his charging them. It appears from the best accounts, that there were at least fifty in that party. The next morning they killed a man at a plantation of Capt. SANDER'S, just below the one which

they successfully attacked last spring; and on Friday night they attacked a small guard within a mile and half of me, the guard beat them off with the loss of one man killed. They carried off a negro wench and a child a small distance from the place, stabbed the wench in several places with a knife, scalped her, and killed the child; the wench has come in, but is not expected to live.

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Copy of a letter from an officer in the army to his friend  
in Philadelphia, dated,

*"Rapids of Ohio, Feb. 1st, 1789."*

"Sir,

"Our affairs in this quarter at present bear a gloomy aspect.—I am just returned from Post Vincennes; on the Wabash, with a detachment of 55 men, who were employed as an escort to provision for that garrison; and believe me, Sir, it is almost next to an accident, that my whole party was not cut off, the river was lined with Indians. I routed two parties, and finding where their strength lay, evaded coming to action, by crossing to the other side of the river; and, in short, I made such expedition, that they had not time to assemble in one body. They killed one man, and wounded another, who were sent down express in a light canoe to me, directing me to fortify on an island, until I could be reinforced. I completed a passage to and from the post in 21 days.—The distance between the two places is called 520 miles. This will prove to you how easy it is to ascend the river Ohio. The Indians are daily committing depredations in Kentucky, and from the Miami we learn that the troops there would be unsafe to go 200 yards from their post, as lurking fellows are frequently seen in wait for them. I want much to know if our new councils are about to take measures to get possession of the Western Posts. This, and this alone, will secure peace with the

Indians. The presence of the Governor is much wanted at the different settlements on the Mississippi : and indeed if he does not come out soon, we may judge from appearances those settlements will generally break up.

“ Mr. MATTIS, a surveyor, with his party, were on the 9th of August attacked by the Indians. His party consisted of a corporal, six soldiers, and five New-England men, who were employed in surveying near the great Kenhawa, about 100 miles down the river from Marietta. Two of the party rising earlier than the others, went to look after their pack-horses ; the remainder (11 in number) after having risen, were sitting on their blankets, when they received an unexpected fire from a party of Indians, not knowing there were any near them. Seven were shot dead on the spot ; the remaining three, with Mr. MATTIS, and the two who were looking for their horses made their escape ; the unfortunate persons killed were 6 soldiers, and a New-England man by the name of PATCHEN, from near Boston.—Mr. MATTIS and the others made their way down the river, where Col. MEIGS with a party were also surveying. They found them alarmed, as one of the chain-bearers had discovered two dogs ahead of them in the woods ; they immediately discharged their guns and re-loaded, which proved a lucky circumstance, as the Indians then lying in ambush for them to come on, supposing themselves discovered, went off, first drawing with wet powder on the bark of a tree, the figure of an Indian tomahawking a man. Col. MEIGS and his party immediately quitted their employ and returned safe to Marietta. A party of Shawanese Indians afterwards took a New-England man (Mr. GARDNER) prisoner at Wolf-Creek ; he was employed in cutting timber for a mill now building at that place, 8 miles from Marietta, but being an excellent woodsman, he made his escape after travelling 60 or 70 miles with them.”

Copy of a letter from a gentleman in Marietta to his friend in Washington, dated,

“ *Marietta*, March 4, 1789.

“ About eight weeks since, two brothers by the name of JOHNSON, one 12, the other 9 years old, were playing on the western bank of Short Creek, about twelve miles from Wheeling, skipping stones in the water.—At a distance they discovered two men, who appeared to be settlers, being dressed with coats and hats.—These men to amuse and deceive the children (as the event shewed) engaged in the same sport, advancing towards the boys, till by degrees they got so near that the children discovered them to be Indians ; but it was then too late to make their escape. The Indians seized and carried them six miles into the woods, where they made a fire, and took up their lodgings for the night ; their rifles and tomahawks they rested against a tree, and then laid down, each Indian with a boy on his arm. The children as may be supposed kept awake—the oldest begun to move, and finding his Indian sound asleep, by degrees disengaged himself, and went to the fire, which had then got low and stirred it up ; the Indian not waking, he whispered to his brother, who likewise crept away, and both of them went to the fire. The oldest boy then observed to his brother, “ I think we can kill these Indians, and get away from them”—the youngest agreed in the proposal of attempting it. The oldest then took one of the rifles, and placed the muzzle, which he rested on a small stick that he found for the purpose, close to the head of one of the Indians, and committing the execution of this part of the business to his brother, ordered him to pull the trigger at the moment he saw him strike the other Indian with one of the tomahawks. The oldest gave the signal ; the youngest pulled trigger—the rifle shot away the lower part of the Indian’s face and left him sense-



less ; he then told his brother to lay on, for he had done for his ; after which he snatched up the gun and ran ; the boy with the tomahawk gave the stroke with the wrong end, the Indian started on his seat—the boy found the mistake, and turning the tomahawk in his hand, gave him another blow which brought him to the ground ; he repeated his strokes until he had despatched him, and then made the best of his way after his brother. When the boys had found the path which they recollected to have travelled before, the oldest fixed his hat on a bush, as a directory to find the scene of action the next day. The tomahawked Indian was found near the place where the boys had left him. The other was not there ; but was tracked by his blood, and although so weakened by his wounds, that he could not raise his rifle to fire at his pursuers (the whites) they suffered him to escape ; but it is supposed he must have died of his wounds. These two Indians were sent out to reconnoitre the best place for an attack, which was to have been made by a body of warriors, waiting in the neighborhood.

“ Late accounts from Kentucky advise, that about the first of last month, the remains of two boats which had been burnt (doubtless by the savages) were discovered ashore on a small island in the river Ohio, about 18 miles above Limestone, that 14 men had also been found on said island killed and scalped, that these unfortunate victims to savage barbarity were judged to be part of the crews of said boats, and it is conjectured that the women and children belonging to them were taken prisoners to the Indian country. That on the 10th of the same month, 18 horses were carried off by a party of Indians from a place called the Rolling Fork, that seven men pursued the plunderers, and came up with them a short distance from their encampment, when an engagement took place, in which one white man of the name of WILSON, was



killed ; and several of the tawny race rushing out from the camp to succour their brethren, obliged the other six to make a precipitate retreat."

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Copy of a letter from a gentleman residing at the westward to a friend in New-York, dated,

“ *Marietta*, Feb. 1, 1790.

“ Our prospects are much changed.—Instead of peace and friendship with our Indian neighbors, a horrid savage war stares us in the face ; the Indians, instead of being humbled by the destruction of the Shawanese towns, and brought to beg for peace, appear determined on a general war, in which our settlements are already involved.—On the evening of the second instant, they fell on a settlement about forty miles up the Muskingum, surprised a block-house, killed fourteen persons, and carried off three others. The persons killed are, John and Philip Stacy, sons to Col. William Stacy, from New-Salem, Ezra Putnam, son to Major Ezra Putnam, from Middletown, in Massachusetts, John Camp, from the same place, Jonathan Farewell, and James Cash, and William Patton, from New-Hampshire, Zebulon Troop, from Baare, William James, from Connecticut, Joseph Clarke, from Rhode-Island, a man by the name of Meeks, with his wife and children, from Virginia. These were all killed in and at the block-house. Francis and Isaac Choat, from Leicester, and one Shaw, who kept at a hut about 50 rods from the block-house, was not found by the party that went out, and it is hoped that they are prisoners.—What number of Indians were concerned in this mischief, or from what tribe, we know not, but from those Indians who till lately used to visit our settlement every day, withdrawing themselves entirely from our sight, ever since the expedition against the Shawanese, there is little reason to doubt but the Delawares and the Wiandots, as

well as others, have had a hand in this nefarious business.

“ It is impossible for me to give you a just idea of the distress into which this event has thrown the inhabitants, especially those of the out settlements. For my own part I have for some time been of opinion, that the spring would open with a general attack on the frontiers, in which event I did not expect we should escape, unless government should timely send troops for our protection, which we was in hopes would be the case. But it seems the enemy are determined to take advantage of our defenceless situation. I consider this event as the forerunner of other attacks of a more serious nature, and which may involve us in complete ruin, unless prevented by government immediately taking measures for our protection.— To their protection I conceive we always had an indisputable claim, which claim, if possible, is increased by the circumstances that have brought us under the resentment of the Indians, and at least, in some measure produced the mischiefs that we are fallen into.”

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Copy of a letter from a gentleman in Kentucky to his friend in Philadelphia, dated

“ April 4, 1789.

“ As to the Indians, they have been troublesome all winter. Since October last, 60 persons have been killed within the limits of this district, besides a number destroyed on the Ohio ; among whom is our old acquaintance, Mr. JOHN MAY, late of Boletoute, whose exit deserves notice, because he was actuated by motives of humanity. The affair is thus related by a captive that has lately made his escape from the Indians, who was a spectator, and an unwilling instrument in the tragedy.

Mr. MAY, in descending the Great Kanhawa and Ohio, about the 20th of March last; discovered on the

western shore of the latter, near the mouth of Sciota, a white man, who, with a plaintive voice, was calling, for God's sake, to come and take a poor prisoner on board, that was endeavoring to escape from the savages. This had the intended effect. Mr. MAY ordered the boat towards the shore, and did not discover his mistake until the Indians rose up from their ambush, fired, shot him dead, and wounded some others of the passengers on board, who immediately endeavored to make off; but being told in the English tongue, they should have good quarters, surrendered without resistance. The Indians, however, on boarding the boat, massacred all, without distinction. Two days after, the same party attempted to decoy three large boats ashore that were coming down from Fort Pitt, but luckily they were discovered in time, and our people sheered off. The enemy, being prepared, manned one of their boats with about 50 warriors, and gave chase. The crews of two of the boats, fearing they might be overtaken, quitted them, and went on board the best sailor, where they threw overboard all the horses, and some heavy articles, and plied all their oars to effect their escape. The Indians also exerted themselves in the pursuit, keeping on a steady course for about 20 miles, notwithstanding 24 well armed white men were on board the American boat, with one of our Colonels of Militia, and the sides of the boat high and bullet-proof.

Thus, for want of a little resolution and skill, a favourable opportunity was lost, to destroy a number of the vile enemies to the human race. The Indians, on their return, took possession of the two boats that were abandoned, and found in them 17 horses, 5000 dollars worth of merchandize, and considerable property, belonging to the emigrants.

Fort M'Intosh, on the Ohio, was a short time since

attacked by a party of Indians—they secreted themselves near the fort and succeeded in killing the centinel on duty, they then rushed into the fort and discharged their pieces on those within, but one man was wounded, who, in endeavouring to escape, was tomahawked by an Indian. One ball just grazed the temple of capt. FORBES, who commanded the guard, and four others struck the log above his head, the splinters and bits of which cut his face, and left it as if scarified. The garrison consisted of twenty men and there were about forty of the enemy.

Thus, sir, we find that Indian treaties do not secure our country from the depredations of the savages; our last hope now is that the President of the United States will, ere long, adopt such measures as will prove the efficiency of the Federal Government, to protect the citizens of the United States, however remotely situated from the seat of government."

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Copy of a letter from Mr. ISAAC CHOATE to a friend in  
Leicester, dated,

" *Detroit*, Feb. 3, 1790.

" I have nothing of more importance to write than an account of my misfortunes.—On the night of the 2d of January I was taken prisoner by a party of Delaware Indians, of which you will probably hear before you receive this; but of the circumstances of my capture you may wish to be informed. FRANCIS CHOATE, myself and two others, were at a house about 200 yards above the block house, which the savages surrounded, and took us all alive; and after plundering the house, bound us and took us off. They then went to the block house, fired in at the door, and killed 13 persons.—After which they proceeded off with us as fast as they could, and travelled 26 days before we arrived at their towns, which

was on the 27th of January. On the 29th they sent me as a present to the commanding officer of this place, where I arrived this day, and have been well received. They are about to clothe me decently, and give me an allowance of provisions, until the river breaks up in the spring, and then I am to be sent to Montreal. As to FRANCIS CHOATE, he was given to a Mingo Indian, who has promised to bring him here in the spring ensuing ; whether he will or not, God knows."

### CAPTIVITY OF MRS. HERBESON.

MASSY HERBESON, on her oath according to law, being taken before JOHN WILKINS, Esq. one of the commonwealth's justices of the peace, in and for the county of Alleghany, deposeth and saith, that on the 22d day of February 1790, she was taken from her own house within 200 yards of Reed's block-house, which is called 25 miles from Pittsburgh ; her husband being one of the spies, was from home ; two of the scouts had lodged with her that night, but had left her house about sun-rise in order to go to the block house, and had left the door standing wide open ; shortly after the two scouts went away, a number of Indians came into the house and drew her out of bed by her feet, the two eldest children, who also lay in another bed, were drawn out in the same manner, a younger child, about one year old, slept with the deponent ; the Indians then scrambled about the articles in the house, when they were at this work the deponent went out of the house and hollowed to the people in the block-house ; one of the Indians then ran up and stopped her mouth, another ran up with his tomahawk drawn, and a third ran and seized the tomahawk and called her his squaw ; this last Indian claimed her as his, and continued by her ; about fifteen of the Indians then ran



down towards the block-house, and fired their guns at the block and store-house, in consequence of which one soldier was killed and another wounded, one having been at the spring and the other in coming or looking out of the store house; the deponent then told the Indians there were about forty men in the block-house and each man had two guns, the Indians then went to them that were firing at the block-house and brought them back, they then began to drive the deponent and her children away, but a boy about three years old being unwilling to leave the house, they took it by the heels and dashed it against the house, then stabbed and scalped it; they then took the deponent and the two other children to the top of the hill, where they stopped until they tied up the plunder they had got; while they were busy about this, the deponent counted them, and the number amounted to thirty-two, including two white men that were with them painted like the Indians.

That several of the Indians could speak English, and that she knew three or four of them very well, having often seen them go up and down the Alleghany river, two of them she knew to be Seneccas, and two Munsees, who had got their guns mended by her husband about two years ago—that they sent two Indians with her, and the other took their course towards Puckty—that she, the children and the two Indians had not gone above two hundred yards, when the Indians caught two of her uncle's horses, put her and the youngest child on one, and one of the Indians and the other child on the other—that the two Indians then took her and the children to the Alleghany river, and took them over in bark canoes, as they could not get the horses to swim the river—after they had crossed the river, the oldest child, a boy about five years of age, began to mourn for his brother, one of the Indians then tomahawked and scalped him; that they

travelled all day very hard, and that night arrived at a large camp covered with bark, which by appearance, might hold fifty men; that the camp appeared to have been occupied some time, it was very much beaten and large beaten paths went out in different directions from it; that night they took her about three hundred yards from the camp into a large dark bottom, bound her arms, gave her some bed clothes, and lay down one on each side of her; that the next morning they took her into a thicket on the hill side, and one remained with her till the middle of the day, while the other went to watch the path, least some white people should follow them, they then exchanged places during the remainder of the day, she got a piece of dry venison about the bulk of an egg that day, and a piece about the same size the day they were marching; that evening (Wednesday the 23d) they moved her to a new place, and secured her as the night before: during the day of the 23d she made several attempts to get the Indian's gun or tomahawk that was guarding her, and could she have got either, she would have put him to death, she was nearly detected in trying to get the tomahawk from his belt.

The next morning (Thursday) one of the Indians went out as on the day before to watch the path, the other lay down and fell asleep, when she found he was sleeping she stole her short gown, handkerchief and a child's frock, and then made her escape—the sun was then about half an hour high—that she took her course from the Alleghany, in order to deceive the Indians, as they would naturally pursue her that way; that day she travelled along Conequenessing creek, the next day she altered her course and as she believes, fell upon the waters of Pine creek which empties into the Alleghany; thinking this not her best course, took over some dividing ridges, fell in on the heads of Squaw run, she lay on a dividing ridge

on Friday night, and on Saturday came to Squaw run, continued down the run until an Indian or some other person shot at a deer ; she saw the person about 150 yards from her, the deer running, and the dog pursuing it, which, from the appearance, she supposed to be an Indian dog ; she then altered her course, but again came to the same run, and continued down it until she got so tired that she was obliged to lie down, it having rained on her all that day and the night before ; she lay there that night, it rained constantly ; on Sunday morning she proceeded down the run until she came to the Alleghany river, and continued down the river until she came opposite to CARTER's house on the inhabited side, where she made a noise, and JAMES CLOSIER brought her over the river to CARTER's house.

This deponent further says, that in conversing with one of the Indians that could talk English very well, he asked her if she knew the prisoner that was taken by JEFFERS and his Seneccas, and in jail in Pittsburgh ? she answered no—he said you lie, she again said she knew nothing about him ; he said she did, that he was a spy, and a great captain ; that he took BUTLER's scalp, and that they would have him or twenty scalps ; he again said that they would exchange for him ; that him and two more were sent out to see what the Americans were doing ; that they came round from Detroit to Venango—the Indian took paper and shewed her that he, at Fort Pitt, could write and draw on it ; he also asked her if a campaign was going out against the Indians this summer ; she said no—he called her a liar, and said they were going out, and that the Indians would serve them as they did last year ; he also said the English have guns, ammunition, &c. to give them to go to war, and that they had given them plenty last year ; this deponent also says, that she saw one of the Indians have Captain CRIB's sword,

which she well knew ; that one of the Indians asked her if she knew THOMAS GIRTY, she said she did—he then said that GIRTY lived near Fort Pitt, that he was a good man, but not as good as his brother at Detroit, but that his wife was a bad woman, she tells lies on the Indians, and is a friend to America. Sworn before me the day and year above written.

JOHN WILKINS.

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Copy of a letter from Capt. JOHN ROGERS, to his Excellency HENRY LEE, Esquire, dated

“ *District of Moro*, April 1, 1790.

“ Dear Sir,

“ When I got into the Holstein country, I found I was in time to accompany governor BLOUNT to the treaty in this district : I pushed for Knoxville, the territorial seat of government, which place I reached the 4th of July, and set out for this the next morning, with the governor and general PICKINS, attended by eighty cavalry, raised for three months duty, for the protection of this district. A party of fifty infantry, many families, and other persons, on their way to this country, was fired on by a party of Indians concealed in a cane brake, on the 10th July, about twenty miles a head of us, and fifteen from the settlement, which they reached the same day ; upon the soldiers pressing forward they retreated, without doing any damage : We got into the frontiers of this district the next day, and learnt that one ZWIGLER’s station, at two miles distance from us, had been taken by the savages. On the night of the 26th January, a man had been killed in the field, and a negro girl tomahawked and scalped. That day a party of three men went to take in the body of the dead man which lay within fifty yards of a fence, behind which the Indians were still concealed, who fired upon the men,

and wounded them all, they however made their escape to a house, where they were closely pursued by the Indians, who, after succeeding in getting possession of their guns and in killing their horses, disappeared. More of the neighbours assembled in the evening, and carried in the dead man, after which they returned to their respective homes, being all alarmed for the safety of their families, leaving at ZEIGLER's only two men beside the three wounded above mentioned. The Indians returned in the night, attacked the station, and found that all the people had assembled in one house, to the number of twenty one persons, men, women, and children ; the Indians then set fire to the adjacent houses, which soon communicated the flames to the one in which the people were, and quickly reduced them to the dreadful dilemma of perishing by the flames, or quitting the house and submitting themselves to the tomahawk of a savage enemy—they chose the latter—the three wounded men escaped, as did Mrs. ZEIGLER, with an infant in her arms ; a Mr. WILSON was wounded in the breast on opening the door, he however followed his wife and six children until overtaken by a party of Indians, he then bid them farewell, fired at the Indians and escaped ; his wife and children were taken prisoners—Mr. ZEIGLER was supposed to have perished in the flames ; a young man was tomahawked near the house and a negro wench killed on their retreat—among the ashes of the consumed dwelling were found the bones of such as perished in the flames.

This country is in a deplorable situation ; detached from the great body of the union ; the inhabitants very dispersed ; almost every part of it a frontier ; so that few are safe in their beds—the lands in a measure lie fallow, or are tilled with the plough in one hand and a rifle in the other ! Many fields which have been tilled



in this manner, are now deserted, and fine growing crops left to be destroyed by such stock as were unavoidably left about the deserted plantations ; and almost every day is distinguished by savage murders and other depredations.

I have procured an accurate list of the killed, wounded and missing, since January 1789, which I enclose you for inspection ; which I believe will be found to be more than has been lost since that time, upon all the frontiers of the union beside. Yet it is said in the Atlantic states, that there is peace with the Creeks,—peace with them, is only another name for war as to this district.

I have received information from Kentucky that JOHN BERKLY and his son were a short time since attacked by a party of Indians in their orchard. The former was wounded, but bravely returned the fire, and killed an Indian in the act of scalping his son.

On the succeeding night the same party opened the stables of JAMES DOUGLASS, and took twelve horses therefrom ; the next day a party of whites under the command of Col. SAMUEL WILSON, fell in with them wounded one, put the party to flight, and regained the horses. A short time after the Creeks killed and scalped a Mr. RAMSEY, an old resident among the Cherokees, declaring it was their orders and determination to kill the Virginians wherever they found them."



Copy of a letter from an officer in the service of the United States to his friend in New-York, dated,

" *Buffaloe Creek*, April 19, 1790.

" I left Fort Franklin the 3d instant, and arrived here the 11th in the evening, at the house of Mr. WINNER, who informs me that upwards of four thousand hostile Indians were now assembled at the Miami villages, and that

their number was daily increasing—Captain POWEL and several other gentlemen of the British army dined with me yesterday, and from their conversation I am perfectly convinced that the Indians are supported by the British in the war against us—indeed, Captain POWEL told me, that all the intentions of the Indians was well known to them, and the Indians were their allies, and of course they must support them—he also informed me that ten scouts of hostile Indians were then out to strike on the frontiers, and that they would soon strike the Six Nations. Some of the chiefs of the hostile Indians passed here about five days ago on their way to Canada, but what their business is I cannot learn.”

By a person who left head-quarters at Fort Washington the 11th ult. and arrived here on Wednesday last, we are informed that Col. HARDEN, Maj. TRUEMAN, and two others, were killed by the Indians a short distance from Fort Jefferson, on their way to the Indian towns to invite them to a treaty : This information was brought to head-quarters by a party of men and an Indian from Post Vincent, two days before our informant left it : We also understand, that accounts have been received in this town from Buffaloe creek, by the way of Fort Franklin, containing information similar to the above. [We most sincerely lament the loss of such valuable men as Col. HARDEN and Major TRUEMAN ; and would suggest the propriety of sending those members of Congress, who proposed and so strenuously supported pacific measures to be adopted with the Indian nations, at this time, with the next message or invitation for a treaty.]

The report respecting Gen. PUTNAM being killed, is without foundation.

We are further informed, that a sergeant, corporal, and twelve men were lately killed near Fort Jefferson by a party of Indians.

Copy of a letter from Fort Washington, February 10th,  
1790.

“ On Tuesday morning the 6th inst. Major ADAIR, with 120 mounted volunteers from Kentucky, having charge of a large number of pack horses laden with provisions, destined for the advanced posts, was most daringly attacked by nearly an equal party of Indians, although under cover of Fort St. Clair—notwithstanding which, and that our people fought desperately, the Indians drove them into the fort, and carried off all the provisions and horses (both pack and cavalry) save about twenty killed and four wounded, and stripped the camp of every thing; carrying the whole off with most audacious insult and triumph. But as soon as the party were re-supplied with ammunition from the garrison, they sallied forth near a quarter of a mile from the enemy; but too late to recover the booty which the Indians had made. The courage and daring spirit of these people were particularly conspicuous on this occasion, as they fought almost under the guns of the Fort. Our loss was one captain and ten privates killed, and some wounded, besides horses and provisions estimated at fifteen thousand dollars. Two of the enemy it is said have been found dead. If these Indians had writers among them, what honorable testimony and eulogy might they not give of the noble spirit and heroic bravery of the native American character, rather than depreciate it as the Europeans do. Two of our men have lately made their escape from the Miami villages and arrived here—they give account of a mock fight lately exhibited to amuse the numerous Indians assembled there, and to divert their squaws and children.—It was in ridicule of Major-General CLARKE’s disposition of his troops on the fourth of November 1789, and of his flight before the Indians, who pursued him and his army whilst the other plundered his camp; they have

given out that they mean to celebrate this event annually, by a like sham fight and a great dance to be called Gen. CLARKE's fight and dance. It is to be hoped we shall yet have an opportunity to retaliate, and to teach our enemy to amuse themselves at our expense in a less ludicrous manner. It seems Gen. CLARKE's field of action was on a branch of the Wabash, twenty-four leagues (instead of fifteen miles) from the Miami towns which are now inhabited by the hostile Indians; and that Gen. CLARKE's course from Fort Washington, was by mistake, greatly too far to the west.

“ A letter from a correspondent, on whose veracity we can rely, in the territory of the United States south of the river Ohio, dated the 17th ult. states, that every thing wears a gloomy aspect on the western frontiers; that about the last of December, the Cherokees sent in peace talkers to Governor BLOUNT, which were only intended to facilitate the commission of further depredations by them, when the guards from our out-posts were withdrawn; that from the 16th to the 26th of January, the Indians killed and wounded 19 persons in Cumberland, among whom was EWING SHELBY, brother to the Governor of Kentucky; that four of the Chickamogga towns and the upper Creeks have declared war; that the Creeks had killed a family in the county of George; that the barbarity exercised by them in this massacre, was enough to make human nature shudder at the bare recital.—They butchered them like so many dogs, caught their blood and bowels, exposed them to view, and then gave the whole to a tame bear to devour; that the Cherokees had killed two Creeks, wounded several, and taken two prisoners; that the Creeks threaten to retaliate, and cut them all off; that the inhabitants of the territory are waiting with impatience for the general government to afford them succour and protection; that treaties with the savages will

avail nothing, as, what promises they make to-day, they will not hesitate to break to-morrow; that a party of the enemy were known to be on the frontier, at the time of our correspondents writing these particulars, and that he expected every moment to hear of some murders being committed by them.

“When will government afford protection to the defenceless inhabitants on the frontiers.”

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Copy of a letter from a gentleman in South-Carolina to a friend in New-York, dated,

“Charleston, April 6, 1790:

“An express arrived from Gen. PICKENS and Colonel ANDERSON, which brings advices to the Governor, stating that a general Indian war on the western frontiers of the southern states seem inevitable; that by intelligence from the country of the Creeks, all the tribes except the Cus-sataws are determined for war; urged by GALPHIN, the successor of M<sup>c</sup>GILLIVRAY; and that they have already commenced hostilities within the Carolina line, a party of them having killed and scalped a man on Tugaloo. We hear his excellency has ordered one third of the militia in the upper districts to be drafted, and held in readiness for immediate service, should the savages make further depredations on the frontiers.

“Yesterday evening a gentleman arrived here from Augusta, in Georgia, who informs us, that six of the Creek towns, with a number of Cherokees, had declared war against the United States, and were actually marching under the command of BOWLES and GALPHIN to attack the frontiers.

On the 22d ult. the Indians, 37 in number, came to the house of a Mr. RICHARD THRESHER, in Augusta, and fired upon and killed Mr. THRESHER, two children and a negro woman; Mrs. THRESHER, to avoid if possible



the fate with which she was threatened, fled with an infant of about five or six weeks old in her arms, and leaped into the river; the Indians pursued, shot her through each thigh and right breast, stabbed her in the left breast with a knife, cut her left arm nearly off, and then scalped her. In this horrid situation she remained until the neighbors could assemble in sufficient numbers to cross the river and pursue the Indians. As the first canoe was crossing she had strength enough to call for assistance, they went, found her hanging by a bush in water nearly up to her chin, her infant at the bottom of the river, a few yards from her. She lived 24 hours, and when informed by her physician that it was impossible for her to survive much longer, she with a fortitude that is rarely to be met with, called her friends around her, and in a calm but pathetic manner, gave her hand to each one, wishing them a better fate than had befallen herself and family; and when after her speech failed, as neighbors were constantly coming in, she continued to give her hand until about five minutes before she resigned her breath, which was without a groan.

"Mrs. THRESHER was about twenty-five years of age, of a respectable family and elegant person, and possessed an uncommon education.

"On Thursday the 24th two men were killed in Franklin, and 40 horses carried off; and since the accounts above received, all the inhabitants on the frontiers have retreated into forts, without arms or ammunition.—At one meeting of near 40 persons they could only muster five old muskets; to heighten the horror of their condition, the Indians were momentarily expected.

"As similar murders are daily committed, it called up the spirit of 800 gallant fellows, who marched last week against the savages, determined to revenge the cruelties perpetrated on the infant, the mother, and the defenceless.

“ To see the country all in forts, breaking up, leaving their farms, their houses and corn burnt up, is truly distressing. At this time nearly half the country are in forts.

“ Captain KENTON with about 34 men, who went up the Ohio in order to intercept the Indians who took Morgan's station, fell in with a trail of a party of Indians on the waters of Paint Creek, coming in to the settlement. He followed them, and at night observing he was near them, sent forward some spies to discover their fires ; unfortunately the spies fell in with their camp, and before they discovered it the Indians were alarmed by a dog who flew out at the spies ; upon which the Indians fired on them ; the spies returned the fire ; upon hearing the firing the whole of the party came up, and the Indians retreated, leaving their baggage, amongst which was a quantity of powder, lead, and blankets. KENTON had one man killed. It is supposed two Indians were killed and carried off, from some discoveries that were made next morning.

“ On Saturday last, the Indians killed two men on the rolling-fork of Salt river, and tomahawked and scalped another, who was alive on Thursday last. Same day killed a man in Harden's settlement,

“ A few days ago the Indians took a boat near Louisville and the mouth of Salt-River, bound to Cumberland ; there were three men on board, who made their escape by leaving the boat and swimming ashore.

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Copy of a letter from a gentlemen in the service of Major-General SEVIER, to a friend in Richmond, dated

“ *Knoxville*, May 4, 1790.

“ SIR,

“ I embrace this opportunity of informing you of the affairs as they now stand in this country :—We have been in a state of warfare with the southern tribes of

Indians for upwards of twelve months past ; our situation, by order of the general government, is only to act on the defensive ; the enemy's making frequent incursions into our country, determined some of our people to retaliate in turn, and by this partial kind of warfare, they formed a more general expedition against this country—about 1200 of them came within a few miles of this place a short time since, supposed with an intention of attacking our metropolis, though they made an attack only on our block house, which they burned and killed every person therein, consisting of 31 men, and before a force could be collected to oppose them, they fled to their own country. A company of 600 mounted infantry gathered immediately, commanded by General SEVIER, and followed them upwards of 150 miles into their own country, burning and destroying all before us, without any opposition, until we had committed 7 of their towns to ruin, we at length arrived at a very large town near the Creek nation, where we killed several and took five prisoners. We were fired on the following morning, by a party of them, and had three of our men wounded and three horses killed ; being fatigued, and provisions plenty, we remained there three days, each night of which we were fired on by the enemy, but received no damage.

From thence we pursued our route to within 8 miles of a large town, in the Creek nation, where at a crossing place of a river, almost impassable with horses, the enemy had collected in a large body, and entrenched themselves where we had to pass, but fortunately for us, our pilot took a wrong path which led to a town about half a mile lower down the river, but on the opposite side to us ; we could not cross there with our horses, and had to return to the ford, where the Indians had thrown up entrenchments ; the enemy, however, see-

ing us pass the first ford, left their posts and ran down to oppose us at the town, and before they could return to their entrenchments, our people had crossed the river when a very heavy fire commenced, which lasted about fifteen minutes, when the enemy retreated, completely defeated; leaving behind them several killed, and the appearance of a great many wounded. The loss we sustained was very trifling, only 8 men killed.

Accounts from the N. W. side of the Ohio, state, that the Indians are very troublesome in the neighbourhood of Columbia. It is reported that two boys were taken prisoners a short time since by the savages, who, after emasculation, were set at liberty, in which situation they returned home. This opens a new scene of Indian barbarity, unheard of before !"

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## CONCLUSION.

INNUMERABLE were the instances of Savage barbarity exercised toward the defenceless inhabitants of the frontiers, from the year 1783 to that of 1791—we have recorded but a small number of them, but a number sufficiently large, we presume, to convince the reader of their enormity—not until those unfortunate people had repeatedly solicited the aid of Government, did the latter consent to take up arms for the protection of their defenceless brethren;—when every pacific measure failed—when every proposal of peace, however just and equitable, was rejected and treated with disdain—humanity dictated that recourse should be had to more effectual measures to put a stop to the murderous career of an unnatural enemy.—Hence the commencement of hostilities by the Americans, and hence the expeditions of Generals HARNER, SCOTT, WILKINSON, ST. CLAIR and



WAYNE.—And although the former was defeated with loss, the glorious victory of the latter brought about the desirable event—the enemy were taught thereby the superiority of the whites, even in their favorite mode of warfare—they buried the hatchet and sued for peace, and a Treaty (satisfactory to both parties) soon followed, to the articles of which, they have ever since and continue faithfully to adhere.

The following list of names of the various Indian nations in North-America, in 1794, with the number of their fighting men, was obtained by a gentleman employed in the above mentioned Treaty:

The Choctaws or Flatheads 4500, Natches 150, Chickasaws 750, Cherokees 2500, Catapas 150, Piantas a wandering tribe 800, Kiskouesquas 600, Iiankashaws 250, Oughtenons 400, Kikapous 300, Shawnese 300, Delawares 300, Miamies 305, Upper Creeks, Middle Creeks, Lower Creeks, 4000, Cowitas 700, Alibomas 600, Akin-saws 2000, Ansaus 1000, Padomas 500, White and freckled Pinai 4000, Canses 1600, Osays 600. Grand Caux 1000, Missouri 3000, Sioux of the Wood 1800, Blances or white Indians with beard 1500, Asinbois 1500, Christian Caux 3000, Ouiscousas 500, Mascotins 500, Lakes 400, Muherouakes 250, Folle Avoine or Wildoat Indians 350, Puans 700, Powatamig 350, Missasagues, wandering tribes 2000, Otabas 900, Chipawas 5000, Wiandots 300, Six Nations 1500, Round Heads 2500, Algoquins 3000, Nepisians 400, Chalas 130, Amitestes 550, Muckniacks 700, Abinaguis 350, Conaway, Humas 200.—  
Total 58780.

*F I N I S.*





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Total 58780.

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